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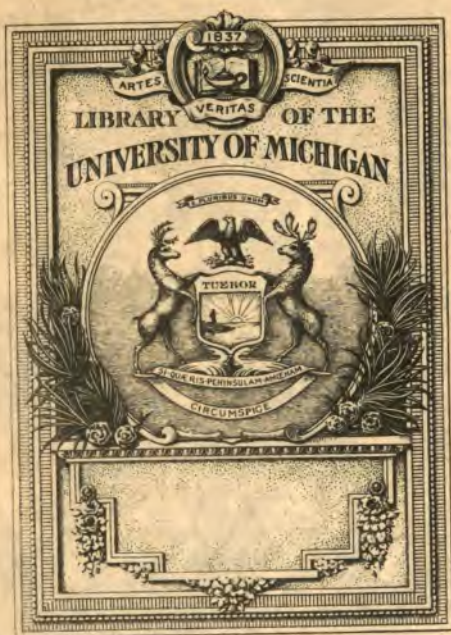
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Joseph Grove
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY,

Prime Minister to King HENRY VIII.

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| <p>I. Of his Birth, and the various Steps he took to attain Preferment, connected with Affairs, both Foreign and Domestic, from the Death of EDWARD IV, to the End of the Reign of HENRY VII.</p> <p>II. Of his Conduct and Management while Prime Minister, (commencing with the Reign of HENRY VIII.) and continued by way of Annals</p> | <p>to his Disgrace and Death, including the general Transactions of <i>Europe</i>.</p> <p>III. Memoirs of the Emperor CHARLES V. HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I. from the Demise of the Cardinal to their respective Deaths.</p> <p>IV. The secret History of the Cardinal, by <i>George Cavendish</i>, Esq; his Gentleman Usher, written in the Reign of PHILIP and MARY.</p> |
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In which are interspersed

The LIVES and memorable ACTIONS of the most eminent Persons: And the whole illustrated with Political and Moral Reflections.

Collected from antient RECORDS, MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CIC.

Ob fatal Love of Fame! Ob glorious Heat!

Only destructive to the Brave and Great.

ADDIS.

VOL. II. Adorn'd with CUTS, and a compleat INDEX.

L O N D O N:

Printed by J. PURSER, for the AUTHOR,

And sold by J. STAGG, in *Westminster-Hall*; H. CHAPPELLE, in *Grosvenor-street*; R. DODSLEY, in *Pall-mall*; J. NOURSE and R. SANDRY, at *Temple-Bar*, J. WORRAL, in *Bell-yard*; J. WHISTON, in *Fleet-street*; T. ASTLEY, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*; J. CLARKE, W. MEADOWS, J. CROKATT, and R. WILLOCK, at the *Royal Exchange*; R. CHANDLER and C. WARD, at *York and Scarborough*; and J. HUGGONSON, on *Ludgate-Hill*. MDCCXLIH.



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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE

Arthur Onslow, Esq;

SPEAKER of the Honourable
HOUSE of COMMONS,

THIS
SECOND VOLUME
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF

Cardinal W O L S E Y,

Is Most Humbly DEDICATED,

B Y

His most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

J. GROVE.
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T H E

P R E F A C E



WE cannot but think ourselves under the Obligation of acknowledging, first, the Good-will of our *Friends* in particular, and next, the Clemency of the *Publick* in general, for the kind Encouragement they have given to our *first* Publication, and hope we shall equally merit their Favour in *this*, and the *two others* that are to follow with as much Dispatch as can be conveniently made.

In our *first Volume* we traced the CARDINAL from his Birth, through his Education, Advancement in Learning and first Preferments, to his Entrance and growing in Favour at Court. In *this* we have attended him, from his first Rise at Court, through the various Steps of Dignity that conveyed him to be *Archbishop, Lord High Chancellor, Cardinal, and Legate a Latere*, all which he enjoyed at once; but how well he acquitted himself in those high Trusts, we shall leave our READERS to see for themselves, which, we hope, they will not be discouraged from

The P R E F A C E.

from the Pursuit of, notwithstanding a Reverend Gentleman's jejune, trite, and ungenerous Summary of his Life, (*in his Lives and Characters*, accompanying the Heads * of Eight *Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*) which is far from answering the Title, or the grand Picture of the Cardinal, that he has rather made him a fitter Companion for a NERO or a CALIGULA, than any thing that can be called *truly Illustrious*.

One thing more may not be amiss to mention that it has occasionally fell in our Way to touch on the Pedigree or Descent of a great Number of our noble, antient, and worthy Families, both of *Great Britain and Ireland*, apprehending that they could not be of any Disservice, if of real Advantage to many of their present Successors. And we must here observe, that we have omitted to relate that the Right Hon. Sir *William Yonge* is descended from the elder Brother of Dr. *Yonge*, who was Master of the Rolls in *Henry the VIIIth's* Time, and a great Favourite of the Cardinal's. See Fol. 331, of this Volume.

* Engraved by the ingenious Mess. HOUTAEN, and VERTUE.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY.



WE concluded our First Volume of this History with the Death of *Henry* the VIIth. who was succeeded in the Throne by his only Son, *Henry* the VIIIth, then about Eighteen Years of Age, *April* the 22d.

*Hen. VIII.
ascends the
Throne.
1509.*

Great Care had been taken of this King's Education, by instructing him in all Parts of Learning necessary for a Prince design'd for an Ecclesiastick, if his Brother Prince *Arthur* had lived. Having in his Youth, as Lord *Herbert* asserts, applied himself much to Learning, so that he made a good

His Education.

VOL. II.

B

Pro-

2 *The LIFE and TIMES*

Progress in the Sciences; and herein he was greatly forwarded by Mr. *Wolsey*, Dean of *Lincoln*; insomuch, that, as Historians agree, for several Years in the beginning of his Reign, no Affairs diverted him from conversing with learned Men, and encouraging Learning, which seems to appear by the Choice of his Counsellors.

The Day the King ascended the Throne, the Lord *Stafford*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was committed to the *Tower*, but was soon after discharged. Lord *Herbert* seems

Lord Stafford arrested, but soon discharged.

to think there was no Colour for his Commitment, because he was immediately created Earl of *Wiltshire*, made one of the Knights of the Garter, and continued to his Death in great Favour with his Majesty, which happened about fourteen Years after his Confinement, when he died without Issue.

His Majesty early took Care to settle his Privy Council; the Chief of which were,

His Majesty settles his Privy Council.

1. *William Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord High Chancellor.

2. *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Privy Seal.

3. *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, Lord High Treasurer.

4. *George Talbot*, Earl of *Sbrewsbury*, Lord High Steward of the King's Household.

5. *Thomas Ruthal*, soon after made Bishop of *Durham*.

6. Lord *Herbert*, of *Gower*, &c. Lord Chamberlain.

7. Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Comptroller of the King's Household.

8. Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Master of the Wards, and Constable of the *Tower*.

Dean *Wolsey* was appointed the King's Almoner, and, as soon as he appeared at Court, his Majesty received him with great Marks of Favour, singling him out from his other Attendants, and conversed with him in so much Freedom, that the Courtiers paid the Respect to him, as to one looked upon in the high Road to Preferment.

Shews Wolsey great Favour.

The King, after settling his Council, issued a Proclamation, wherein is set forth, "That his Majesty, being informed his good Subjects had been oppressed under the specious Pretence of preserving the Prerogative of the Crown, gave them Leave to bring in their Complaints, and promised them Satisfaction:" And withal the King confirm'd his Father's general Pardon, granted before his Death, excepting, as *Stow* says, all Persons guilty of Murder, Felony, or Treason.


And issues a Proclamation.

This

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,
by GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq; his Gentleman-
Usher.

C H A P. II.

Of King HENRY the VIIIth's Ascending the Throne, and the
CARDINAL's Favour with him.

FTER the Solemnizations, and cost-ly Triumphs, our natural, young, courageous, lusty Prince, and Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Eighth, entering into his Flower and lusty Youth, took upon him the Royal Sceptre, and Imperial

Diadem of this fertile Nation; the two and twentieth of April, Anno Dom. 1509, which at that Time flourished with all Abundance of Riches, whereof the King was most inestimably furnished, called then the golden World.

Now shortly after, the Almoner seeing he had a plain

*Complaints brought
against Empson,
Dudley, &c.*

This Proclamation so much engaged the Hearts of the People towards the young King, that his Clemency was the Subject of all Conversations. Petitions were soon brought from all Parts of the Kingdom, not only against *Empson* and *Dudley*, but also against their Under-strappers, called *Promoters*, filled with Complaints of the Extortions they had been guilty of in the Execution of their Offices; among the latter were *Joseph Derby*, *Joseph Smith*, and *John Simson*, with whom the Government made short Work, instantly trying, convicting, and sentencing them severally according to their Deserts; and then they were conveyed thro' the City on Horseback, with their Faces to the Horses Tails, and Papers pinned to their Breasts, denoting the Offences they had been guilty of; at which Time the Populace were not wanting in their Beneficence. This Treatment had such an Effect on these Miscreants, that

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ Path-way to Promotion, be-
‘ haved himself so politickly,
‘ that he was made one of the
‘ King’s Privy Council, and in-
‘ creased in Favour daily; to
‘ whom he gave a House at
‘ *Bridewell* near *Fleet-street*,
‘ where he kept his House for
‘ his Family, and so he daily at-
‘ tended upon the King, being
‘ in special Favour.

‘ His Sentences in the Star-
‘ Chamber were ever so pithy
‘ and witty, that, upon all Oc-
‘ casions, they assigned him, for
‘ the fluent Eloquence of his
‘ Tongue, to be the Expofitor
‘ to the King in all their Pro-
‘ ceedings. In whom the King
‘ received so great Content, that
‘ he called him still nearer to

‘ his Person; and the rather,
‘ because he was ready to ad-
‘ vance the King’s own Will
‘ and Pleasure, having no respect
‘ to the Case.

‘ Now the King being young,
‘ and much given to his Pleasure,
‘ his old Counsellors advised him
‘ to have Recourse sometimes
‘ to the Council about his weigh-
‘ ty Affairs; but the *Almoner*, on
‘ the contrary, persuaded him to
‘ mind his Pleasure, and he
‘ would take his Care and Charge
‘ upon himself, (if his Majesty
‘ would Countenance him with
‘ his Authority) which the King
‘ liked well. And thus none
‘ was like to the *Almoner* in Fa-
‘ vour with the King.

that divers of them shortly after died in *Newgate*. A Warning, one would think, sufficient to deter Persons from enriching themselves by stirring up Suits on Inquisitions, and obsolete Recognizances.

But Mr. *Salmon* remarks — “ Thus we find the
“ Ministry making a Sacrifice of their inferior Agents
“ and Under-strappers at the beginning of this Reign,
“ to remove the Odium of the late Extortions from
“ themselves ; for it is not to be supposed, that those
“ unhappy Men durst have distressed the Nation in
“ the manner they did, if they had not been support-
“ ed and encouraged in it by their Superiors : But
“ this has ever been the Policy of the great Men at
“ the Helm, when they have ventured upon any
“ destructive Schemes, to give up their Instruments,
“ in order to turn the Fury of the People from them-
“ selves, expecting to be looked upon as Patriots,
“ perhaps for punishing those very Facts which they
“ themselves advised.”

Emp-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

CHAP. III.

Of King Henry's Invading France in his own Person, with the Cardinal's Assistance.

‘ **T**HUS the *Almoner* conti-
‘ nuing in high Favour,
‘ till at last many Presents,
‘ Gifts, and Rewards, came in
‘ so plentifully, that, I dare say,
‘ he wanted nothing, for he had
‘ all Things in Abundance, that
‘ might either please his Fancy,
‘ or enrich his Coffers ; for the
‘ Times so favourably smiled up-
‘ on him, but to what End you
‘ shall hereafter hear : Therefore
‘ let all Men, to whom Fortune
‘ extendeth her Favour and
‘ Grace, take heed they trust
‘ not her subtil and fair Pro-
‘ mises, for under Colour there-
‘ of she carries an envious Gall ;
‘ for, when she seeth her Servant
‘ in highest Authority, she turn-
‘ eth her Favour and pleasant
‘ Countenance into Frowns.
‘ This *Almoner* climbing up
‘ Fortune's Wheel, that no Man
‘ was in Estimation with the
‘ King, but only he, for his
‘ witty Qualities and Wisdom.
‘ He had an especial Gift of
‘ natural Eloquence, and a filed
‘ Tongue to pronounce the same,
‘ that he was able therewith, to
‘ persuade and allure all Men to
‘ his Purposes, in the time of his
‘ continuance in Fortune's Favour.

Empson and *Dudley*, the two principal Contrivers of all this Calamity, were cited before the Council, where the principal Articles against them were briefly exhibited. *Empson* answered for them both, "That he could not but take it *Speech.* "as a Favour that he was allowed to "speak for himself and Mr. *Dudley*, "when he considered with what Violence they had "been pursued; and observed, that the Accusation "was of a very new and strange Nature; that usually "Men were prosecuted for acting against the Laws, "or disobeying their Sovereign's Commands; but "they were charged for executing the Laws, of "which the People were the Authors. That he "knew it was to little purpose for him to speak, when "the King, to whom they should appeal as their "supreme Judge and Protector, had abandoned them "to the Fury of their Enemies, for no other Cause "than obeying his Father's Orders, and maintaining "his

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

"In the fifth Year of the
 "Reign of King *Henry* the
 "Eighth it chanced, that the
 "Realm of *England* and *France*
 "was at Variance, but upon what
 "Ground or Occasion I know
 "not; insomuch, that the King
 "was fully resolved in his own
 "Person to invade *France* with a
 "puissant Army: It was there-
 "fore thought very necessary,
 "that his Royal Enterprizes
 "should be speedily provided and
 "furnished in every degree, in
 "Things apt and convenient for
 "the same. For Expedition the
 "King thought no Man's Wit
 "so meet for Policy and pain-
 "ful Travel as the *Almoner*,
 "to whom he committed his
 "whole Affiance, and Trust
 "therein: And he being nothing
 "scrupulous in any Thing that
 "the King would command,
 "although it seemed very diffi-
 "cult, took upon him the whole
 "Charge of the Business, and
 "proceeded so therein, that he
 "brought all Things to good
 "Effect in direct Order, for all
 "manner of Victuals and Pro-
 "vision convenient for so noble a
 "Voyage and Army.
 "All Things being thus pre-
 "pared by him in Order, the
 "King not intending to neglect
 "or delay any Time, but with
 "noble and valiant Courage to
 "advance his Royal Enterprize,
 "passed the Seas between *Dover*
 "and *Calis*, where he prospe-
 "rously arrived; and, after he
 "had

his Authority. How could they expect Justice from the People, or have an equal Tryal from them, who fought their Destruction before they were heard? If any of the Statutes, that had been put in Force, were disagreeable to the Kingdom, why were they not repealed? Was it ever known before, that an Attempt should be made for condemning Men for doing Justice, especially when the King, the chief Dispenser thereof, had confirmed and warranted every part of their Proceedings, which they were able to shew. An Attempt (says he) before unheard of! and if what we have thus done be now construed as Crimes, and we suffer thereby, I desire it may not be divulged to Foreign Nations, lest they should infer the final Dissolution of the *English* Government was approaching”.

To this one of the Council answered, “That, tho’ *Empson* had spoken with Boldness, yet he had not

One of the Council answers Empson.

“thereby

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

had there made his Arrival, and landed all his Provision and Munition, and fate in Consultation about his weighty Affairs, marched forth in good Order of Battle, till he came to the strong Town of *Turwine*, to the which he laid strong Siege, and made a sharp Assault, so that in a short space it was yielded unto him, unto which Place the Emperor *Maximilian* resorted unto him with a great Army like a mighty Prince, taking of the King’s Wages.

Thus, after the King had taken this strong Town, and taken Possession thereof, and set all Things in good Order, for the Defence and Preserva-

tion thereof to his Majesty’s Use, then he retired from thence and marched towards *Turney*, and there lay’d Siege in like manner; to which he gave so fierce Assault, that the Enemies were constrained to render the Town to his Majesty. At which Time, the King gave unto the *Almoner* the Bishoprick of the same See towards his Pains and Diligence sustained in that Journey. And when he had established all Things according to his Princely Mind and Pleasure, and furnished the same with Men and Captains of War for the safeguard of the Town, he prepared for his Return to *England*.

“ thereby cleared himself and *Dudley* of the Charge
 “ brought against them; for that they were not
 “ accused of executing the Laws, or obeying
 “ the lawful Commands of the late King, but for
 “ stretching the Laws beyond their due Bounds, and
 “ exceeding their Sovereign’s Authority, which Ac-
 “ cusation the Council had Reason to believe was
 “ too well grounded; and therefore it was his Majes-
 “ ty’s Pleasure, that they should be committed to the
 “ Tower, till an Enquiry could be made into the Charge
 “ that had been brought against them.” — And upon
 breaking up of the Council they were accordingly
 committed.

Rapin’s Re-
marks on their
Case.

“ In any other Country (says *Rapin*)
 “ an Act of Sovereignty to send these
 “ two Men to the Gallows would
 “ have been seen with Joy; but it’s
 “ not the same in *England*, because no Man can be
 “ condemned unheard, of which Privilege the
 “ greatest Criminals are not debarred. It was neces-
 “ sary therefore to find out some express Law to
 “ condemn

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

• But now you shall understand
 • by the way, that, whilst the
 • King was absent with a great
 • Power in *France*, the *Scottish*
 • King invaded *England*, against
 • whom the Queen sent a great
 • Army, the Earl of *Surry* be-
 • ing General, where he over-
 • threw the *Scots* at *Balmston*,
 • called *Hoddenfield*, where the
 • King of *Scots* was slain, with
 • divers of his Nobility, and
 • eighteen thousand Men, and
 • they took all his Munition for
 • War.

• By this time the King re-
 • turned into *England*, and took
 • with him divers noble Perfo-
 • nages of *France*, being Priso-
 • ners; as the Duke of *Longui-*
 • *de*, Viscount *Clerimond*, with
 • divers others that were taken in
 • a Skirmish.
 • And thus God gave him
 • Victory at Home, and Victo-
 • ry Abroad, being in the fifth
 • Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom.*
 • One Thousand Five Hundred
 • and Thirteen.

“condemn them; but, upon examining the Accu-
 “sation already brought against them, great Difficul-
 “ties occurred. It appeared, that, tho’ they had been
 “guilty of numberless Extortions in their merciless
 “Execution of the Penal Laws, in carrying the Laws
 “even beyond what they would bear, that would
 “not be sufficient to take away their Lives, being in
 “themselves only Misdemeanours. It was resolved,
 “at last, to prosecute them for Treason committed
 “against *Henry VIII.*”

And, to proceed, not long after *Empson* *They are in-*
 and *Dudley’s* Commitment, they were *dicted.*
 severally indicted both in *London* and *Northampton*;
 the overt Acts charged against them were, that they
 had conspir’d against the King and State, and sum-
 moned, during his late Majesty’s Illness, some of their
 Friends to be ready to take Arms at an Hour’s Warn-
 ing, in order, upon his Death, to hasten to *London*;
 and either destroy or seize the King’s Person.

On

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

CHAP. IV.

*The King promoting his Almoner, being made Cardinal, and Lord
 Chancellor of England.*

THE King being returned
 into *England*, the See of
Lincoln became void by the
 Death of Doctor *Smith* late Bi-
 shop there, which Bishoprick
 the King gave to the Almoner E-
 lest of *Turney*, who was not ne-
 gligent to take Possession there-
 of, but made all Speed for his
 Consecration; the Solemniza-
 tion thereof being ended, he
 found a Way to get into his
 Hands all his Predecessor’s
 Goods, whereof I have seen
 divers Parts that furnished his
 House.

Doctor *Bambridge*, Archbishop
 of *York*, died at *Roban* in
France, being there the King’s
 Ambassador, unto which See
 the King presented the last
 new Bishop of *Lincoln*, so that
 he had three Bishopricks in
 his hands at one Time, all
 in one Year given him. There
 prepared he again for his Tran-
 slation from the See of *Lincoln*,
 to that of *York*, as he did be-
 fore to his Installation.

After which Solemnization
 done, and being the Archbi-
 shop and *Primas Angliæ*,
 thought himself sufficient to

It was not long after, but
 VOL II.

*And convicted
of High Treason.*

On the 16th of July, Dudley was tried at Guildball, London, and Empson at Northampton, on the 14th of October then following, who were severally found guilty of High Treason; and the People in general not only rejoiced on their Conviction, but were so incensed against them, that, when they were brought out of the Tower, they were followed by the Populace with loud Acclamations of, *Hang up the Commissioners of Forfeitures! Hell-hounds! Blood Suckers, &c.*

Burnet's Observations on their Case.

Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, tells us, "That Empson and Dudley, apprehending the Danger they were like to be in upon their Master's Death, had been practising with their Partners, to gather about them all the Power they could bring together; whether to secure themselves from popular Rage, or to make themselves seem considerable or formidable to the new King; this

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

' compare with that of *Canterbury*, and did thereupon advance his Crosses in the Courts, and every other Place, as well in the Precinct and Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*, as any other Place: And forasmuch as *Canterbury* claimeth a Superiority over *York*, as well as over any other Bishoprick within *England*, and for that cause claimeth an Acknowledgment, as in antient Obedience of *York*, to abate Advancement of his Crosses, to the Crosses of *Canterbury*.

' Notwithstanding *York* not desisting to bear the same, although *Canterbury* gave *York* a Check for the same, and told him, it was Presumption, by

' reason whereof there ingendered some Grudge between them: But shortly after he obtained to be made Cardinal, and *Legatus de Latere*, unto whom the Pope sent the Cardinal's Cap, and certain Bulls for his Authority in that Behalf; whereupon he was Installed at *Westminster* in great Triumph which was executed by all Bishops with their Mitres, Caps, and other Ornaments: And after all this, he was made Chancellor of *England*, and *Canterbury* who was the Chancellor, was dismissed.

' Now he being in the Chancellorship, and endowed with the promotions of Archbishop, and Cardinal *de Latere*, thought him-

“ this and other Crimes being brought against them,
 “ they were found guilty of Treason in a legal
 “ Way.”

The Propriety of this we shall not examine into, but only remark on what the learned Bishop phrases *found guilty in a legal Way*; for, tho' Historians allow, that they met with their deserved Fate, most believed them not guilty of the Crimes they were convicted of; not being able to conceive, that two Persons, who had made themselves so hateful to the Nation, could hope for any Support in an Attempt to levy War and sieze the King's Person.

*A Remark
thereon.*

Notwithstanding the different Juries, that tried these avaricious Commissioners, found them guilty of Crimes worthy of Death, his Majesty did not think proper to order them immediately for Execution, but directed them to be detained in Custody, till their Cases should be laid before the Parliament, which did not meet this Year.

The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ himself so fully furnished, that
 ‘ he was now able to sur-
 ‘ mount *Canterbury* in all Ju-
 ‘ risdictions; and in all Eccle-
 ‘ siastical Powers to Convocate
 ‘ *Canterbury*, and all other Bi-
 ‘ shops, and Spiritual Persons
 ‘ to assemble at his Convoca-
 ‘ tions, where he would assign,
 ‘ and take upon him the Con-
 ‘ version of all Ministers, and
 ‘ others within their Jurisdictions,
 ‘ and visited all the Spiritual
 ‘ Houses, in their Diocese, and
 ‘ all manner of Spiritual Mi-
 ‘ nisters, as Commissioners,
 ‘ Scribes, Apparators, and all
 ‘ other necessary Officers to fur-
 ‘ nish his Courts, and did con-
 ‘ vent by Convention, whom he
 ‘ pleased through this Realm and

‘ Dominion, and all other Per-
 ‘ sons to the Glory of his Dig-
 ‘ nity. Then had he two great
 ‘ Crosses of Silver, whereof one
 ‘ was of his Archbishopsrick,
 ‘ and the other of his Legasie,
 ‘ borne before him wheresoever
 ‘ he rode or went, by two of
 ‘ the tallest Priests that he could
 ‘ get in this Realm.

‘ And to the Increase of his
 ‘ Gain, he had in his Hand the
 ‘ Bishopsrick of *Durham*, and St.
 ‘ *Albans* in Commendum: Also,
 ‘ when Doctor *Fox*, Bishop of
 ‘ *Winchester* died, he did sur-
 ‘ render *Durham* to the King,
 ‘ and took himself to *Winchester*.
 ‘ He had also, as it were in
 ‘ Farm, the Bishopsrick of *Bath*,
 ‘ *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, for

The Wits in those Days employed themselves in making Satyrical Pieces on *Empson* and *Dudley*, particularly, Mr. *Cornish*, of the King's Chapel, made several severe Verses on Sir *Richard Empson*, at the Request of the Earl of *Kent*, in Return for some hard Usage the Earl had met with from *Empson* in the Time of his Ministry.

Stow relates, that *Dudley*, during his Confinement, wrote a Book, intituled *The Tree of Common-Wealth*, which he dedicated to the King, a Copy whereof he gave to his Grandson, the Earl of *Leicester*, about the Year 1562.

Dudley, at the Time of his Fall, had *Dudley's large* no less in Offices than to the yearly Va-
Fortune. lue of 800 *l.* besides 20,000 *l.* in ready Money, over and above Jewels, Plate, and rich Household Goods, to a very great Amount; and all this he gathered in less than 13 Years Time.

Empson

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ the Incumbents of them were ‘ great Possessions, and the tal-
‘ Strangers. He had also at- ‘ lest Yeomen for his Guard in
‘ tending upon him Men of ‘ the Realm.

C H A P. V.

Of the Orders and Officers of his House and Chapple.

‘ **N**OW first for his House ‘ Comptroller, and a Surveyor
‘ you shall understand, ‘ over the Dresher; a Clark in
‘ that he had in his Hall three ‘ the Spicery, which kept con-
‘ Boards kept with three several ‘ tinually a Meß together in the
‘ Officers (that is to say) a Stew- ‘ Hall; also he had in the Hall-
‘ ard, that was always a Priest; ‘ Kitchen two Cooks, and La-
‘ a Treasurer, that was ever a ‘ bourers, and Children, twelve
‘ Knight; and a Comptroller ‘ Persons; four Men of the
‘ that was an Esquire: Also a ‘ Scullery, two Yeoman of the
‘ Confessor, a Doctor; three ‘ Pastry, with two other Past-
‘ Marshals, three Ushers in the ‘ layers under the Yeomen.
‘ Hall, besides two Almoners ‘ Then had he in his Kitchen,
‘ and Grooms. ‘ a Master Cook, who went dai-
‘ Then had he in the Hall- ‘ ly in Velvet or Sattin, with a
‘ Kitchen two Clarks, a Clark ‘ gold Chain, besides two other
‘ Cooks,

Empson likewise acquired a very great Fortune, and lived in great Splendor to the Time of his Fall, at his House in *Fleet-street*, near the King's Palace of *Bridewell*, which the King, upon his Conviction, was pleased to give to his Almoner, *Wolsey*. This Present must have been very considerable, because, as is mentioned in the Grant, it had ten Gardens belonging to it. Historians say, the King made *Wolsey* this Present, in order to have him near the Court.

*The King presents
Empson's House,
&c. to his Almoner.*

The next Matter of Consequence was, the King's marrying *Catherine of Arragon*, Prince *Arthur's* Widow. We have before observed what at first prevailed on *Hen.* the VIIth to contract his Son *Henry* to this Princess. Those who favoured the Lady took the Liberty to urge, 1. That, if the King persisted in not marrying her, it might make *Spain* too formidable, and too much expose his People to be ill used, either by

*Arguments for
and against
the King's
Marriage.*

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

- ' Cooks, and six Labourers in
- ' the same Room.
- ' In the Larder, one Yeoman
- ' and a Groom; in the Scullery,
- ' one Yeoman and two Grooms;
- ' in the Buttery two Yeomen
- ' and two Grooms; in the Ewry
- ' so many; in the Cellar, three
- ' Yeoman, three Pages; in the
- ' Chandlery, two Yeoman; in
- ' the Wayfary, two Yeoman;
- ' in the Wardrobe of Beds,
- ' the Master of the Wardrobe,
- ' and twenty Persons besides; in
- ' the Laundry, a Yeoman and
- ' a Groom, and thirteen Pages,
- ' two Yeoman Purveyors, and a
- ' Groom-Purveyor; in the Bake-
- ' house, two Yeoman and
- ' Grooms; in the Wood-yard
- ' one Yeoman and a Groom;
- ' in the Barn, one Yeoman;
- ' Porters at the Gate, two Yeomen,
- ' and two Grooms; a
- ' Yeoman in his Barge, and a
- ' Master of his Horse; a Clark
- ' of the Stables, and a Yeoman
- ' of the same; a Farrier, and a
- ' Yeoman of the Stirrop; a
- ' Maltlour and sixteen Grooms,
- ' every one of them keeping
- ' four Geldings.
- ' Now will I declare unto
- ' you the Officers of his Chap-
- ' ple, and singing Men of the
- ' same. First, he had there a
- ' Dean, a great Divine, and a
- ' Man of excellent Learning,
- ' and a Sub-Dean, a Repeater of
- ' the Quire, a Gospeller, an
- ' Epistoler of the singing Priests,
- ' a Master of the Children; in

the

the *French* or *Spaniards*. 2. That it would be monstrous to send so fair a Princess back to *Spain*, who, by her discreet Behaviour, had greatly gain'd the Good-will of the People. 3. That as it was plain the King would not live long without a Wife, he could not marry better, it being admitted, that she was a Lady of strict Virtue and Piety, of a sweet Temper and Carriage, not 22 Years of Age, beautiful, and learned in Languages as well as Sciences. 4. That, notwithstanding her former Marriage, she was still a Maid; and that the Princess had more than once, in a private Conversation with some of the great Ladies of the Court, declared herself on that head. Lastly, The Scripture was offered in Favour of the Marriage, where it's said, *If Brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no Child, the Wife of the Dead shall not marry without unto a Stranger; her Husband's Brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to Wife, and perform the Duty of an Husband's Brother unto her.* Deut. xxv. 5.* But

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

<p>‘ the Vestry, a Yeoman, and two ‘ Grooms, besides other Retain- ‘ ers that came thither at principal Feasts. ‘ And for the Furniture of his ‘ Chapple, it passeth my weak ‘ Capacity, to declare the Number of the costly Ornaments, ‘ and rich Jewels that were occupied in the same; for I have ‘ seen in procession about the ‘ Hall, forty four rich Copes ‘ of one settle worne, besides ‘ the rich Candlesticks, and o-</p>	<p>‘ ther necessary Ornaments to ‘ the Furniture of the same. ‘ Now you shall understand, ‘ that he had two Cross-bearers, ‘ and two Pillar-bearers in his ‘ great Chamber, and his Privy-Chamber, all these Persons; ‘ the Chief-Chamberlain, a Vice-Chamberlain, a Gentleman-Usher, beside one of his Privy Chamber: He had also twelve ‘ Waiters, and six Gentlemen ‘ Waiters: Also he had nine or ‘ ten Lords, who had each of ‘ them</p>
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* The vulgate Bible has it, *Quando habitaverint fratres simul, & unus ex eis absque liberis mortuus fuerit, Uxor defuncti non nubet alteri; sed accipiet eam frater ejus, & suscitabit semen fratris sui* — It's true, some of our modern Commentators and Translators, have endeavoured to explain away the Meaning of the Word *Frater*, by turning it into *Kinsman*.

But the Opponents argued, that, tho' *Henry* the VIIth at first promoted the Match, he afterwards charged his Son to break the Contract, owning, that he was convinced it was unlawful, for which Reason the King, when Prince of *Wales*, was from time to time debarred from seeing that Princess, lest Affection should rise from Conversation, which sometimes grows unmanageable in young People. To this may be added, that, when Prince *Henry* was contracted to this Lady he was scarce 14 Years of Age, and, consequently, too young to hear Debates about Cases of Conscience, whether it was lawful or not lawful to marry his Brother's Widow; and therefore what he did relating to the before-mentioned Protestation, was done by the Direction of his Father, and not the Result of Ill-will to the Princess, as some would insinuate.

These different Arguments were soon followed by a Memorial preferred by the *Spanish* Ambassador, in
Relation

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

' them two or three Men to wait
' upon him, except the Earl of
' *Darby*, who had five Men.
' Then he had Gentlemen-
' Cup-bearers, and Carvers, and
' one of the Sewers, both of the
' great Chamber, and of the
' Privy Chamber forty Persons;
' six Yeomen Ushers, eight
' Grooms of his Chamber: Al-
' so he had of Alms, who were
' daily Waiters of his Board at
' Dinner, twelve Doctors and
' Chaplains, besides them of his,
' which I never rehearsed; a
' Clerk of his Closet, and two
' Secretaries, and two Clerks of
' his Signet; four Counsellors
' learned in the Law.
' And for that he was Chan-
' cellor of *England*, it was ne-
' cessary to have Officers of the
' Chancery to attend him for the
' better Furniture of the same.
' First, he had a Riding
' Clerk, a Clerk of the Crown,
' a Clerk of the Hanaper,
' a Chafer; then had he a
' Clerk of the Check, as well
' upon the Chaplains, as upon
' the Yeomen of the Chamber:
' He had also four Footmen gar-
' nished with rich running Coats,
' whensoever he had any Jour-
' ney: Then he had a Herald
' of Arms, a Serjeant of Arms;
' a Physician, and Apothecary;
' four Minstrels, a Keeper of his
' Tents, an Armourer; an In-
' structor of his Wardrobe of
' Robes, a Keeper of his Cham-
' ber continually; he had also
' in

Relation to the King's Marriage with the Princess so that it now came to be debated in Council, where those who were against the Marriage alledged, that the Man's marrying his Brother's Widow was a Thing unheard of among *Christians*; that such a Match was contrary to the Law of God, and therefore was a Question, whether the Pope had Power to dispense with it. Archbishop *Warham* strongly opposed the Marriage, and declared, he could not be considering such a one as downright incestuous: Bishop *Fox* was of another Mind, he strenuously insisted on the Pope's Dispensation to be lawful, taking Notice at the same Time of the unlimited Power Christ's Vicar; and, as the Pope had granted the Dispensation, he thought it enough to satisfy the King's Conscience, more especially as the Princess had declared herself to be a Maid, and that there was no room to doubt but what she said was true. Upon this the King and Council, much better approv-

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

<p>• in his House a Surveyor of • <i>York</i>, a Clerk of the Green- • Cloth. All these were daily • attending down-lying, and up- • rising. And at Meat, he had • eight continual Boards for the • Chamberlains and Gentle- • men Officers, having a Mess • of young Lords, and another • of Gentlemen: Besides this, • there was never a Gentleman • or Officer, or other worthy Per- • son, but he kept some two, some • three Persons to wait upon them; • and all others at the least • had one, which did amount</p>	<p>• to a great number of • Persons. • Now having declared • Order, according to the Che- • Roll of his House, and w • Officers he had daily attend • to furnish the same, bef • Retainers, and other Per • being Suiters dined in • Hall. And when shall we • any more such Subjects • shall keep such a noble Hou • Therefore here is an end • his Household, the Number • Persons in the Cheyne w • eight hundred Persons.</p>
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the Arguments offered for the Marriage, than those against it, came to a Resolution that it should be solemnized.

Dr. *Fiddes*, in his Account of this Marriage, says, "Some have thought that the King married this Lady more out of Respect to filial Piety, and for his Father's first Appointment, than for the Devotion he really had for her. But there was nothing in the Temper of the King that should induce us to form such a Judgment of him: It's rather to be believed he acted in this Matter by the Advice of his Council; and the King, to shew he was well pleased with the Resolution, on the 3d of *March*, married the Princess." *Kennet* says, at the Bishop of *Salisbury's* House in *Fleet-street*, *The Marriage solemnized.* but *Stow* avers, the King married her in his Closet at *Greenwich*, having before declared, that he would not be crowned till it was compleated; and; among other Ceremonies suitable to the Occasion, the

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

CHAP. VI.

Of his Second Embassage to the Emperor Charles the Vth.

WHEN he was thus furnished, in Manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was sent twice on Embassage to the Emperor Charles the Vth, that now reigneth, and Father to King Philip, now our Lord and Sovereign: Forasmuch as the old Emperor Maximilian was dead, and for divers other urgent Occasions touching his Majesty; it was thought fit, that about such weighty Matters, and to so noble a Prince, the Cardinal was most meet to be sent on this Embassage, and he, being one ready to take the Charge thereof upon him, was furnished in every respect most like a great Prince, which was much to the Honour of his Majesty, and of this Realm: For first he proceeded forth like to a Cardinal, having all Things correspondent; his Gentlemen, being very many in Number, were clothed in Livery-coats of Crimson Velvet of the best, and Chains of Gold about their Necks; and his Yeomen, and all his mean Officers were clad in fine Scarlet guarded with black Velvet one Hand breadth. Thus furnished, he was twice sent

the Bride, tho' a Widow, was dressed in *White*, denote her *Virginity*, which she, and all her Friends asserted to the last.

A few Days after the Marriage was consummated the King made twenty four *Knights of the Bath* in the *Tower*; and on the 24th of *June* their Majesty were crown'd at *Westminster*, by the *Hair* of *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* with the utmost Magnificence; when the Nobility, both Spiritual and Temporal, paid their Homage: And the People, according to antient Custom being asked, *Whether they would receive him for the King?* they unanimously cried, with repeated Shouts *Yea! Yea!*

This Ceremony being performed, the King confirmed, to *John* Earl of *Oxford*, the Possession of the Castle of *Colchester*, granted to one of his Ancestors by the Empress *Maud*; nominated Sir *Edmund Howard* Standard-bearer; Sir *Thomas Boleyn* W

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ sent in this Manner to the Emperor in *Flanders*, then lying at *Bruges*, whom he did most nobly entertain, discharging all the Cardinal's Charges, and his Men's. There was no House in the Town of *Bruges*, where in any one of my Lord's Gentlemen were lodged, or had recourse, but that the Owners of the Houses were commanded by the Emperor's Officers, upon the Pain of their Lives, to take no Money for any Thing the Cardinal's Men did take of any kind of Victuals; no, although they were disposed to make costly Banquets: Further commanding their said Hosts, that they should want nothing which they honestly require or desired to have.

‘ Also the Emperor's Officers every Night went through the Town from House to House where any *Englishman* had course, or lodged, and served their Livery for all Nights which was done on this Manner: First, the Officers brought into the House a Casteele fine Manchet, then two Silver Pots of Wine, and a Pound of Sugar, white Lights, and yellow Lights, a Bowl of Silver and a Goblet to drink in, and every Night a Staff-tor.

‘ This was the Order of the Livery every Night; and the Morning, when the Officers

den of the Exchange at *Calais*; and appointed fifty Gentlemen to be Spear-men, each of them to have an Archer, a Demy Lance, and a Chrystal; and every Spear-man to have three great Horse-men Attendants on his Person, of which Band the Earl of *Essex* was constituted *Lieutenant*, and Sir *John Peckie* Captain: But this Band did not hold long, being, somewhat like the late King of *Prussia's* tall Grenadiers, very expensive to maintain, and of little or no Use.

Some time after the King's Coronation, *Countess of Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond* and *Derby*, the King's Grandmother, died, much lamented by the King and the whole Court. This Princess was so remarkable for her extensive Charity, that the Publick, by her Death, sustained a very great Loss.

Countess of Richmond's Death and Character.

Cambridge, in particular, will for ever honour her Memory, where she founded two Colleges for that Uni-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

' came to fetch away their Stuff,
' they would account for the
' Gentlemen's Costs the Day be-
' fore.

' Thus the Emperor enter-
' tained the Cardinal and his
' Train, during the Time of his
' Embassy. And, that done, he
' returned into *England* with
' great Triumph, being no less
' in Estimation with the King
' than he was before, but rather

' much more, for he increased
' daily in the King's Favour, by
' reason of his Wit and Read-
' iness to do the King Pleasure in
' all Things.

' In the one and twentieth
' Year of King *Henry* the
' VIIIth's Reign, *Anno Dom.*
' 1529, this Emperor, *Charles*
' the Vth, came into *England*,
' who was nobly entertained.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Manner of his Going to Westminster-Hall.

' NOW must I declare the
' Manner of his going
' to *Westminster-Hall* in the
' Term Time. First, when he
' came out of his Privy Cham-

' ber, he most commonly heard
' two Masses in his Chapel or
' Chamber. And I heard one
' of his Chaplains say since, (that
' was a Man of Credit, and ex-
' cellent

University; the one dedicated to our Saviour *Christ*, and the other to St. *John*, and endowed them both with large Revenues. Besides Officers and Servants, there are 200 Students maintained in them. She left likewise Lands to both Universities, out of the Rents whereof, two Doctors, Professors of Divinity, annually receive Allowances. She was buried near her Son *Henry* the VIIth, according to the Dignity of so great a Person, in a fair Tomb of Touchstone, whereon lies her Image of gilt Brass. She had no Issue by the Earl of *Derby*, her second Husband, who died in the Year 1504.

Fisher, Bishop of *Rochester*, preached her Funeral Sermon, and threw these Flowers upon her Grave.

Concerning her Birth, that she was the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, lineally descended from the most noble Prince *Edward* the IIIrd, King of *England*. That she was a second *Martina*, both for her Hospitality and Readiness to do Good; would often

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

cellent Learning) that, what Business soever the Cardinal had in the Day-time, he never went to-bed with any part of his Service unsaid; no, not so much as one Collect, in which I think he deceived many a Man. Then, going into his Chamber again, he demanded of some of his Servants, if they were in readiness, and had furnished his Chamber of Presence, and waiting Chamber; he then, being advertised, came out of his Privy Chamber about eight of the Clock, ready apparelled, and in red like a Cardinal, his upper Vesture was all of Scarlet, or else of fine Crimson Taffata, or Crimson Sattin ingrained, his Pillion of Scarlet, with a black Velvet Tippet of Sables about his Neck, holding in his Hand an Orange, the Meat or Substance thereof being taken out, and filled again with a part of Sponge, with Vinegar and other Confections against pestilent Airs, the which he most commonly held to his Nose when he came to the Presence, or when he was pestered with many Suitors: And before him was borne the broad Seal of *England*, and the Cardinal's Hat, by some Lords, or some Gentlemen of Worship right solemnly; and as soon as he was entered into his Chamber of Presence, where there were daily attending on him

often dress the Wounds of poor People with her own Hands, with many other manual Acts of Charity, frequently performed by the greatest Personages in those Days, tho' now much neglected, And, which was very extraordinary, when a Proposal was made for divers Princes to join in a War against the common Enemy of the *Christian* Faith, this Princess, to encourage them in so glorious an Expedition, offered even herself to attend them as a Laundress.

The following Epitaph, composed by *Erasmus*, was inscribed upon her Tomb.

MARGARETAE. RICHE-
MONDIAE. SEPTIMI. HEN-
RICI. MATRI. OCTAVI. AVI-
AE. QUAE. STIPENDIA.
CONSTITVIT. TRIB. HOC.
COENOBIO. MONACHIS.
ET. DOCTORI. GRAMMATI-
CES. APVD. WYMBORN.
PERQ; ANGLIAM TOTAM.
DIVINI. VERBI. PRÆCONI.

DVOB. ITEM. INTERPRAE-
TIB: LITERAR: SACRAR:
ALTERI. OXONIIS. AL-
TERI. CANTABRIGIAE
VBI. ET. COLLEGIA. DVO.
CHRISTO. ET. JOANNI.
DISCIPVLO. EIVS. STRVXIT,
MORITVR.
AN. DOMINI
M.D.IX.III. KAL. JVLII.

This

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq;*

‘ him as well Noblemen of this
‘ Realm, as other worthy Gen-
‘ tlemen of his own Family,
‘ his two great Crosses were
‘ there attending upon him ;
‘ then cry the Gentlemen Ushers
‘ that go before him bare-head-
‘ ed, *On Masters before, and*
‘ *make Room for my Lord!* Thus
‘ went he down into the Hall,
‘ with a Serjeant of Arms before
‘ him, bearing a great Mace of
‘ Silver, and two Gentlemen
‘ carrying two great Plates of
‘ Silver; and, when he came to
‘ the Hall-door, there his Mule
‘ stood trapped all in Crimfon
‘ Velvet, with a Saddle of the
‘ same.

‘ Then was attending him,

‘ when he was mounted, his two
‘ Cross-bearers, his two Pillar-
‘ bearers, all upon great Horses,
‘ all in fine Scarlet; then he
‘ marched on with a Train of
‘ Gentry, having four Foot-men
‘ about him, bearing every one
‘ of them a Pole-ax in his Hand;
‘ and thus passed he forth till
‘ he came to *Westminster*, and
‘ there alighted and went in
‘ this Manner up to the Chan-
‘ cery, and staid a while at a
‘ Bar, made for him beneath
‘ the Chancery, and there he
‘ communed sometimes with
‘ Judges, and sometimes with
‘ other Persons, and then went
‘ up to the Chancery, and sat
‘ there till eleven of the Clock,

‘ 10

This Princess was a great Encourager both of Religious and Learned Men, and from time to time preferred them in her Family, and afterwards recommended them to her Son *Henry* the VIIth, who generally indulged her Requests. Among them *Hugh Oldham*, Dr. in Divinity, and one of this Princess's Chaplains, was preferred to the See of *Exeter*; and of her Will she made Sir *John St. John* and others Executors, who faithfully executed the Trust reposed in them.

Sir *John* was of a very antient Family, being paternally descended from the *Ports*, Lords of *Basing* in *Hampshire*, who were great Barons at the Time of the Conquest; and by maternal Descent he derived the Sur-name of *St. John*, in lineal Succession from *William de St. John*, and entered *England* with *William* (by some called) *the Conqueror*.

Sir* *John's* Mother, *Margaret*, the Relict of Sir *Oliver St. John*, married *John Beaufort*, Duke of *Somer-*

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

<p>to hear Suits, and to deter- mine Causes; and from thence he would go into the Star- chamber as Occasion served him; he neither spared High nor Low, but did judge every one according unto Right. Every Sunday he would re-</p>	<p>sort to the Court, being at <i>Greenwich</i>, with his former re- hearsed Train and Triumph, taking his Barge at his own Stairs, furnished with Yeomen standing upon the Sails, and his Gentlemen within and a- bout, and landed at the Three Cranes in the <i>Vine-tree</i>, and from</p>
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* From this Gentleman, *Henry* Lord Viscount *St. John*, Lord *St. John* of *Bletso*, and Sir *Francis St. John*, Bart. are descended. The first named Lord served his Country in Parliament for the space of 21 Years, and was, on the 2d of *July*, in the 2d of K. *Geo. I.* created Baron *St. John* of *Battersea*, and Viscount *St. John*.

Henry, his eldest Son by his first Lady, was a Gentleman of so great Learning and sprightly Parts, that he had but few Equals in the Kingdom; and, having distinguish'd himself in the House of Commons, was made Secretary of War, and one of the Privy Council.

merfet, by whom ſhe had *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, Mother to *Henry* the VIth, who conferred on him the Honour of Knighthood. Sir *John* died beyond Sea the firſt of *Sept.* in the fourth Year of *Henry* the VIIIth.

The Fame of the young King's Courage, and Magnanimity of Temper was now ſpread abroad, which ſoon drew over to *England* a great Concourse of learned Men from different Parts of the World, with Expectations to partake of the King's Liberality and Generoſity; among whom the famous *Eraſmus* was not wanting. And the reigning Princes of *Europe* as uſual, on his Maſteſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, ſent Ambaſſadors to compliment him, and renew ſeverally the Treaties of Alliance and Commerce, ſubſiſting between them and the late King his Father.

On the other hand, the King ſent Miniſters abroad to the ſeveral Courts, to notify his Acceſſion to the Throne.

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Eſq;

<p>from thence he rode upon his Mule with his Croſſes, his Pillars, his Hat, and his broad Seat carried before him on Horſeback along <i>Thames-ſtreet</i>, until he came to <i>Billingsgate</i>, and there he took his Barge, and ſo went to <i>Greenwich</i>, where he was nobly enter-</p>	<p>tained of the Lords in the King's Houſe, being there with Staves in their Hands, as the Treafurer, Comptroller, with many others, and conveyed into the King's Chamber, and ſo went home again in the like Triumph.</p>
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C H A P.

Council, by her late Maſteſty Queen *Anne*; ſome time after he was made Secretary of State, and on the 17th of *July*, 1712, he was created a Baron, and alſo Viſcount *Bolingbroke*; but, in the 1ſt of *K. Geo. I.* he retired Abroad, and his Honours were forfeited by his Attainder. However, his Lordſhip has obtained ſo much Favour, by Act of Parliament, 12 *K. Geo. I.* notwithstanding his Attainder, to enjoy certain Eſtates, &c. in *Great Britain*, and which likewiſe permitted him (after he had continued ſeveral Years in Foreign Parts) to return to his native Country, where we wiſh he may enjoy the Sweet of a quiet Retreat from the troubleſome Affairs of State.

Throne of his renowned Ancestors, and to give Assurances of his Majesty's Desire to live in Peace with all his Neighbours.

Archbishop Baynbridge made Ambassador at Rome. Christopher Baynbridge, Archbishop of York, who was then at Rome, had a Commission sent him to take upon himself the Title of Ambassador from England, which was very acceptable to the Pope; and we shall presently see the Reason why the King appointed him as such, it not being usual for his Predecessors to have ever a one residing at that Court.

Rapin's Account of the young King. Rapin observes, "That the King in the beginning of his Reign willingly left to his Council and Ministers the Care and Management of his Affairs: As he was at Peace with his Neighbours, what passed in his Kingdom could not keep him much employed; he thought more of such Pleasures and Diversions as were suitable to his Years, than of Application to Business; and

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cardinal's Magnificence in his House.

HE lived a long Season, ruling all Things in this Realm appertaining to the King, by his Wisdom, and all other Matters of Foreign Regions, with whom the King had any Occasion to meddle. All Ambassadors of foreign Potentates were ever disposed by the Cardinal's Wisdom, to whom they had continual Access for their Dispatch.

His House was always resorted unto like a King's House, with Noblemen and Gentlemen: And when it pleased the King's Majesty (as many times it did) he would for his Recreation resort unto the Cardinal's House, against whose coming there wanted no Preparation of goodly Furnitures, with Victuals of the finest sort that could be had for Money or Friendship.

Such Pleasures were here devised for the King's Delight as could be invented or imagined; Banquets set with Masquers and Mummers, in such costly Manner, that it was glorious to behold, there wanting no Damsels meet to dance with the Masquers, or to garnish the Place for the Time, with Variety of other Pastimes.

“ and, as he was naturally liberal, his Entertainments
 “ at Court were very expensive. The Bishop of
 “ *Winchester* could not help murmuring to see the
 “ Money lavished without any Necessity, which his
 “ deceased Master had amassed with so much Care,
 “ Pains, and *Injustice*,* in which he had himself been
 “ employed; he threw all the Blame upon the Earl
 “ of *Surry*, Lord Treasurer, who was his Rival in
 “ Favour under the late King, and continued to be
 “ so under the present King, by gaining the Affec-
 “ tion of his new Master, by a *blind* Compliance to
 “ his Will. During *Henry* the VIIth’s Life he was
 “ more close, and harder to part with Money than
 “ the King himself: However express the Orders
 “ were for Payment, he found Difficulties to evade it,
 “ and by that Means he made his Court admirably
 “ to his Master. Being continued in his Post in the
 “ present Reign, he became quite another Man; he
 “ not

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ Then was there divers Kinds ‘ ing they were discharged,
 ‘ of Musick, and many choice ‘ which made such a rattling
 ‘ Men and Women-singers ap- ‘ Noise in the Air, that it was
 ‘ pointed to sing, who had ex- ‘ like Thunder; it made all the
 ‘ cellent Voices. I have seen ‘ Noblemen, Gentlemen and
 ‘ the King come suddenly thi- ‘ Ladies to muse, what it should
 ‘ ther in a Mask, with a dozen ‘ mean coming so suddenly,
 ‘ Masquers all in Garments like ‘ they sitting quietly at a Ban-
 ‘ Shepherds, made of fine Cloth ‘ quet. In this sort you shall
 ‘ of Gold and Silver-wire, and ‘ understand, that the Tables
 ‘ six Torch bearers, besides their ‘ were set in the Chamber of
 ‘ Drummers, and others at- ‘ Presence, covered, and my
 ‘ tending on them with Vizard, ‘ Lord Cardinal sitting under his
 ‘ and clothed all in Sattin. And ‘ Cloth of State, and there hav-
 ‘ before his entering into the ‘ ing all his Service alone. And
 ‘ Hall, you shall understand, ‘ then was there set a Lady and
 ‘ that he came by Water up to ‘ a Nobleman, a Gentleman and
 ‘ the Water-gate without any ‘ a Gentlewoman, throughout all
 ‘ Noise, where were laid divers ‘ the Tables in the Chambers on
 ‘ Chambers, and Guns charged ‘ the one side, which were made
 ‘ with Shot; and at his Land- ‘ all joining as if it were but one
 VOL. II. E Table,

* Very kind of Monsieur *Rapin*, in thus charging a King and
 a Bishop with *Injustice* in the same Breath.

" not only paid, without Examination, what ever was
 " ordered, but also put the King upon spending ex-
 " travagantly; this gained himself the Favour of the
 " young Prince, who was naturally addicted to Pro-
 " digality: But the Bishop of *Winchester* openly
 " blamed this Conduct, as highly prejudicial to the
 " King's Interest. But he was little regarded in a
 " Court where every one was striving to make an
 " Advantage of the Sovereign's liberal Temper.
 " Mean while his Discourses exasperated more and
 " more the Earl of *Surry* and the young Courtiers a-
 " gainst him, who never ceased to do him ill Offices
 " with the King. Thus the Bishop, who was in so
 " great Credit in the late Reign, gradually lost it in
 " this. His Disgrace, which sat heavy upon his Mind,
 " threw him upon devising Means to supplant his
 " Rival, by introducing, at Court, *Thomas Wol-*
 " *sey*, whose Qualifications he was no Stranger
 " to,"

Histo,

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

' Table. All which Order was
 ' done by my Lord *Sands*, then
 ' Lord Chamberlain to the King,
 ' and by Sir *Henry Guilford*,
 ' then Comptroller of the King's
 ' House.

' Then immediately after this
 ' great Shot of Guns, the Car-
 ' dinal desired the Lord Cham-
 ' berlain to see what it did mean,
 ' as though he knew nothing of
 ' the Matter: They then looked
 ' out of Window into the *Thames*,
 ' and, returning again, told him,
 ' that they thought they were
 ' Noblemen and Strangers ar-
 ' rived at the Bridge, and com-
 ' ing as Ambassadors from some
 ' Foreign Prince; With that
 ' said the Cardinal, I desire you,
 ' because you can speak *French*,

' to take the Pains to go into
 ' the Hall, there to receive them
 ' into the Chamber, where they
 ' shall see us, and all those no-
 ' ble Personages being merry at
 ' our Banquet, desiring them to
 ' sit down with us, and take part
 ' of our Fare.

' Then went they incontinent-
 ' ly into the Hall, where they
 ' were received with twenty
 ' Torches, and conveyed up in-
 ' to the Chamber, with such a
 ' Number of Drums and Flutes,
 ' as I have seldom seen together
 ' at one Time and Place.

' Then, at their Arrival into
 ' the Chamber, they went two
 ' and two together directly be-
 ' fore the Cardinal, where he
 ' sat, and saluted them very re-

verently;

Historians agree, that, the Bishop of *Winchester* could not see, without great Uneasiness, the Course the young King was pursuing in the beginning of his Reign, which made him think of retiring from Court; but then he foresaw, he should, by so doing, soon lose all his Interest there, in case he could not fall on a Method to check the Design of his Rival, the Earl of *Surry*; therefore he (seeing the young King from time to time received Mr. *Wolsey* with great Distinction) waited on his Majesty, and in a handsome Speech begged he might be excused from a constant Attendance at Court, on Account of his Age and Infirmities; which the King was pleased to grant. He next took the Opportunity of recommending to his Royal Master, in the most effectual Manner, Mr. *Wolsey*, as a Minister of great Abilities, and fitly qualified for the most important Services, which Advice his Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously; expressing at the same time, that

Bishop Fox recommends Mr. Wolsey to the King.

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ verently; to whom the Lord
‘ Chamberlain for them said, For-
‘ asmuch as they are Strangers,
‘ and cannot speak *English*, they
‘ have desired me to declare unto
‘ you, that they, having understand-
‘ ing at this your triumphant
‘ Banquet were assembled such
‘ a Number of fair Dames, they
‘ could do no less (under the
‘ Supportation of your Grace)
‘ than to view as well their in-
‘ comparable Beauties, as to ac-
‘ company them to the Mum-
‘ chance, and after that to dance
‘ with them, so to beget their
‘ better Acquaintance.

‘ And furthermore, they re-
‘ quire of your Grace Licence
‘ to accomplish this Cause of
‘ their Coming.

‘ When the Cardinal said he
‘ was willing, and very well
‘ content they should do so.

‘ Then went the Masquers,
‘ and first saluted all the Dames,
‘ and then returned to the most
‘ worthiest, and there opened
‘ the great Cup of Gold filled
‘ with Crowns, and other Pieces
‘ to cast at.

‘ Thus perusing all the Gen-
‘ tlewomen, of some they won,
‘ and to some they lost. And,
‘ having viewed all the Ladies,
‘ they returned to the Cardinal
‘ with great Reverence, pouring
‘ down all their Gold, which
‘ was above two hundred Crowns.
‘ At all, quoth the Cardinal,
‘ and casting the Dye he won it,
‘ whereat was made great Joy.

E 2 Then

that it was agreeable to his own Sentiments. The Contention, between the Bishop and the Earl, by Means of furthering the Promotion of *Wolsey* than it could be expected; and by this last Act the Bishop retained his Credit at Court; and, tho' he afterwards spent a pretty deal of his Time in the Court yet no Affairs of Importance were for several Years afterwards resolved on, without first consulting this Prelate and Statesman.

As to *Ireland*, there was nothing very remarkable this Year, except, that the *Affairs of Ireland.* was pleased not only to continue the *1509.* of *Kildare* in the Government thereof to grant him a new Patent to constitute him *Justice*; and in the Year 1510 he was made Lord. He erected, at his own Expence, a Chapel in the Church, *Dublin*, and the People every Day for the Benefit of his wise and prudent Administration.

E

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL.

' Then, quoth the Cardinal ' the rest, he is content
' to my Lord Chamberlain, I ' disclose himself, and to
' pray you go tell them, that to ' of your Place most will
' me it seemeth that there should ' With that the Cardin
' be a Nobleman amongst them ' ing good Advice, w
' that better deserves to sit in ' mongst them, and at th
' this Place than I, to whom I ' (quoth he) It seemeth
' should gladly surrender the ' that the Gentleman wi
' same, according to my Duty, ' black Beard should be h
' if I knew him. ' with that he rose out

' Then spake my Lord Cham- ' Chair, and offered the s
' berlain to them in *French*, de- ' the Gentleman with the
' claring my Lord Cardinal's ' Beard, with the Cup
' Words, and they rounding him ' Hand: But the Cardin
' again in the Ear, the Lord ' mistaken, for the Perf
' Chamberlain said unto my ' whom he then offered
' Lord Cardinal: ' Chair, was Sir *Edward N*
' Sir, (quoth he) they con- ' a comely Knight, and
' fess, that among them is such ' goodly Personage, who did
' a noble Personage, whom if ' resemble his Majesty's Pe
' your Grace can point out from ' than any other in that N

Emanuel the 1st had been King of *Portugal* * fifteen Years, when *Henry* the VIIIth ascended the Throne of *England*, and continued so to the Death of Cardinal *Wolsey*. *Emanuel* was bred up to all Manner of Learning, so that he was qualified either for a Divine, or a temporal Prince. When King he so devoted himself to Religion that the Affairs of his Kingdom exceedingly suffered, thro' the evil Administration of those he had entrusted with the Government.

The Archbishop of *Lisbon*, (a wise and good Prelate) foreseeing that the Kingdom must be inevitably ruined, in case some Steps were not taken to reform the Abuses and Mismanagements crept into the Administration, took the Liberty to represent to his Prince the Condition his People was in, which had the desired Effect; for the King was made sensible, that what the Archbishop had advanced was Truth, which induced him to take upon himself the Government of his People, to enquire into their Grievances, and severely to punish

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

* The King seeing the Cardinal so deceived in his Choice, could not forbear Laughing, but pulling down his Vizard, and Sir *Edward Nevill's* also, with such a pleasant Countenance and Cheer, that all the noble Estates desired his Highness to take his Place: To whom the King made Answer, that he would first go and shift him; and thereupon went into the Cardinal's Bed-chamber, where was a great Fire prepared for him;

* The Kingdom of *Portugal* is bounded on the North with the Rivers *Minio* and *Avia*, which part it from *Gallicia* on the South, and on the West with the two *Castiles*. From North to South along the Sea Coast it contains 400 Miles, in the broadest part 100, and in the narrowest 80 Miles. There are three Archbishopricks, *Lisbon*, *Braga*, and *Evora*; ten Bishopricks with large Revenues; and 1460 Parishes. The Provinces of *Portugal* have all their particular Commodities, which produce, among other Things, store of Citrons and excellent Oranges. Their Parliaments assemble at *Lisbon* and *Oporto*, Places for the general Receipt of the King's Revenues, and famous for Commerce thro' *Europe*.

punish those who had abused the Trust reposed in them. He next made several wise Laws for the Benefit of his Subjects. These Proceedings soon gained him the Affection of his People in general, who surnamed him EMANUEL THE GOOD.

Having thus settled his Kingdom at home to the Content of his Subjects, he next applied his Mind to the aggrandizing them abroad; for having, as we have before observed, had good Success from his Fleet sent to the *East Indies*, he next fitted out another for the *West Indies*, and there made Discoveries and took Possession of the *Brafils* in *America*. He also sent another towards the *South*, which added to their for-

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

him; and there he new apparelled himself with rich and princely Garments: And, in the King's Absence, the Dishes of the Banquet was clean taken away, and the Tables covered again with new and perfumed Cloths, every Man sitting still until the King's Majesty with his Masquers came in among them, every Man new apparelled.

Then the King took his Seat under the Cloth of Estate, commanding every Person to sit still as they did before; and then came in a new Banquet before his Majesty of two hundred Dishes, and so they passed the Night in Banqueting, and Dancing until Morning, which much rejoiced the Cardinal to see his Sovereign Lord so pleased at his House.

CHAP. IX.

Of the original Instrument of the Cardinal's Fall, Mistress Anne Bullen.

NOW you shall understand, that the young Lord of *Northumberland* attended upon my Lord Cardinal, who, when the Cardinal went to Court, would ever have Conference with Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, who then was

one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Katherine*, inasmuch that at last they were contracted together, which when the King heard, he was much moved thereat (for he had a private Affection to her himself) which was not yet discovered.

former Acquisitions the Kingdoms of *Conga* and *Angola*.

The happy Discoveries made in the *East Indies* encouraged him to send a more powerful Fleet, and a Body of Land Forces, with Directions to settle Plantations there; but, before they could obtain what they desired, these Forces were obliged to dispute the Ground with both the *Turks* and the *Egyptians*, which were so successful as to beat both those Enemies, and possess themselves of the Island of *Ormus* in the *Persian Gulph*; an Island so rich and so well situated, that the *Arabians* used to say, *If the whole World were a Ring, that would be like a Diamond in it.* Many other Forts and Places upon the Seacoasts they likewise brought under Subjection, and, having fortified them, returned home richly laden.

Thus

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ yerred to any; and then ad-
 ‘ vised the Cardinal to send for
 ‘ the Earl of *Northumberland* his
 ‘ Father, and take Order to
 ‘ dissolve the Contract made be-
 ‘ tween the said Parties, which
 ‘ the Lord Cardinal did, after a
 ‘ sharp Reprehension, in Regard
 ‘ he was contracted without the
 ‘ King and his Father’s Know-
 ‘ ledge; he sent for his Father,
 ‘ who came up to *London* very
 ‘ speedily, and came first to my
 ‘ Lord Cardinal, as all great
 ‘ Personages did, that in such
 ‘ sort were sent for, of whom
 ‘ they were advertised of the
 ‘ Cause of their sending for:
 ‘ And when the Earl was come,
 ‘ he was presently brought to
 ‘ the Cardinal into the Gallery.
 ‘ After whose Meeting, my
 ‘ Lord Cardinal and he were in
 ‘ secret Communication a long
 ‘ Space. After their long Dil-

‘ course, and drinking a Cup of
 ‘ Wine, the Earl departed, and
 ‘ at his going away, he sat
 ‘ down at the Gallery and in
 ‘ the Hall upon a Form, and be-
 ‘ ing set, called his Son unto
 ‘ him, and said,

‘ Son (quoth he) even as thou
 ‘ art, and ever hast been, a proud,
 ‘ disdainful, and very unbristly
 ‘ Master, so thou hast now de-
 ‘ clared thyself; wherefore what
 ‘ Joy, what Pleasure, what
 ‘ Comfort, or what Solace can I
 ‘ conceive in thee? that thou
 ‘ without Discretion, hast abused
 ‘ thyself, having neither Regard
 ‘ to me, thy natural Father, nor
 ‘ unto thy natural Sovereign Lord,
 ‘ to whom all honest and loyal Sub-
 ‘ jects bear faithful Obedience,
 ‘ nor yet to the Prosperity of thine
 ‘ own Estate; but hast so unad-
 ‘ visedly ensnared thyself to her,
 ‘ or whom thou hast purchased
 ‘ the

Thus the Riches of *India*, which before had brought over the vast Deserts of *Arabia*, upon Backs of Camels, to *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, and thence by Sea conveyed to *Venice*, and so dispersed over the *European* Parts of the World, were brought home by Sea, which was a shorter Way, formed much sooner, and at less Expence.

In short, *Emanuel* carefully avoided entering the Quarrels that arose between the other *European* Princes; for, while his Fleets were performing these glorious Exploits, in the before unknown Parts of the World, he applied himself in keeping his Kingdom in Peace at Home and Abroad; and being blessed with a noble and numerous Issue, after having governed his Kingdom 41 Years, with great Glory and Renown, ended his Days at *Lisbon*, about the Year 1535, in the 73d Year of his Age, and was buried, in the Cathedral of that City, among many of his Ancestors. To sum up this Prince's Character.

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

' the King's high Displeasure in-
' tolerable for any Subject to sustain.
' And, but that the King doth con-
' sider the lightness of thy Head, and
' wilful Qualities of thy Person, his
' Displeasure and Indignation were
' sufficient to cast me, and all my
' Posterity into utter Ruin and
' Destruction. But he being my sin-
' gular good Lord, and favourable
' Prince, and my Lord Cardinal
' my very good Friend, hath, and
' doth clearly excuse me in thy
' Lewdness, and do rather la-
' ment thy Folly than malign thee,
' and hath advised an Order to be
' taken for thee, to whom both I and
' you are more bound than we con-
' ceive of, I pray to God, that this
' maybe a sufficient Admonition unto
' thee, to use thyself more wisely here-

' after; for assure thyself, that,
' if thou dost not amend thy Prodi-
' gality, thou wilt be the last Earl
' of our House. For thy natural
' Inclination, thou art masterful
' and prodigal, to consume all
' that thy Progenitors have with
' great Travel gathered and kept
' together with Honour. But,
' having the King's Majesty, my
' singular good Lord, I trust, I
' assure thee, so to order my Suc-
' cession, that thou shalt consume
' thereof but a little.

' For I do not intend (I tell
' thee) truly to make thee Heir,
' for (thanks be to God) I have
' more Boys, than I trust will use
' themselves much better, and
' prove more like to wise and ho-
' nest Men, of whom I will
' choose

ter in a Word, the *Portuguese* Historians in general say, "He so lived and so ruled his People, that he deservedly merited the glorious Title they had given him, of *Emanuel the Good*." The Benefits that have accrued to this Nation from those Discoveries, and the Trade that has been since carried on with *Portugal* by our Merchants, are so well known, that they need not be here expressed.

Cardinal *Ximenes*, whilst nothing was to be seen in *Italy* but one Prince endeavouring to destroy another, under the Pretence of Zeal for Religion, and the Glory of God, employed his Time in a more agreeable Manner; for, with his Majesty's Leave and Assistance, after the Taking of *Granada*, he converted, by his Preaching, in that City 3000 *Mahometans* in one Day, and among them a Prince of the Blood, whom he also baptized. He then ordered all the Books of the *Alcoran* to be brought into the great Market-place, where he burnt them: And

Affairs of Spain.
1509.

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

* choose the most likely to succeed
* me.

* Now good Masters and Gentlemen (quoth he) unto us, it may be your Chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see those Things, that I have spoken to my Son, prove as true as I now speak them; yet, in the mean Time, I desire you all to be his Friends, and tell him his Faults in what he doth amiss, wherein you shall shew your selves friendly to him; and so I take my Leave of you: And Son, go your ways unto my Lord, your Master, and serve him diligently; and so parted, and went down into the Hall, and so took his Barge.

* Then, after long and large
VOL. II.

* debating the Matter about the Lord *Piercy's* Assurance to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, it was devised, that the Contract should be infringed and dissolved, and that the Lord *Piercy* should marry one of the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Daughters; and so indeed not long after he did, whereby the former Contract was broken and dissolved, wherewith Mrs. *Anne* was greatly displeased, promising, that, if ever it lay in her Power, she would do the Cardinal some Displeasure, which she afterwards did. But yet he was not altogether to be blamed, for he did nothing but what the King commanded; whereby the Lord *Piercy*

And this Day is solemnized yearly in *Spain*, in Commemoration of so sacred a Performance, as they esteem it.

Ximenes passes into Africa and takes Oran.

He then raised an Army of seven thousand Men, passed over with them himself into *Africa*, and took upon him the Command of the Army, Count *Peter Navarro* commanding under him, who was a General of great Experience, and had, by his Generosity, blotted from the Minds of his Soldiers the Meanness of his Birth; for it is confidently affirmed, that he had been Footman to the Cardinal of *Arragon*. He was, tho' but little in Stature, a Man of great Fire, of an active Genius, and well versed in the Art of War, by the Instruction and Example of the famous *Gonsalvo*, under whom he had served in several Campaigns.

The Cardinal undertook to keep the Army six Months, upon Condition he should be repaid, or have

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

was charged to avoid her Company; and so was she for some time discharged the Court, and sent home to her Father, whereat she was much troubled and perplexed. For all this time she knew nothing of the King's intended Purpose.

But we may see when Fortune doth begin to frown, how she can compass a Matter of Displeasure through a far fetch'd Mark. Now therefore of the Grudge how it began, that in Process of Time wrought the Cardinal's utter Destruction.

C H A P. X.

Of Mistress Anne Bullen her Favour with the King.

O H Lord, what a great God art thou! that workest thy Wonders so secretly that they are not perceived, until they be brought to pass and finished.

Attend now, good Reader, to this Story following, and note every Circumstance, and

thou shalt at the end perceive a wonderful Work of God, against such as forget him and his Benefits.

Therefore, I say, consider after this my Lord *Piercy's* troublesome Business was over, and all Things brought to an End, then *Mistress Anne Bullen*

have the Benefit of the Conquests settled upon his See, which, being agreed to, on the 17th of *May*, *Ximenes*, at the Head of an Army, put the Natives to the Sword, then entered victorious into the Town of *Oran*, (the Keys of which he sent to his College at *Arcala*) marching in a triumphant Manner, every Clergyman bearing a Trophic-cross before him, with others after him, and their Swords girt round them upon their Habits.

On his Return to *Spain*, *Ferdinand* met him four Leagues out of *Seville*, alighted to embrace him, and shewed him other Tokens of Honour.

In some Time after this *Ximenes*, foreseeing a Dearth was like to overtake the Country, filled four publick Granaries at his own Charge. This won the People's Hearts so much, that, to preserve the Memory of such a Blessing, they had it engraved in Marble, and placed it in the Senate-hall and Market-place of *Toledo*, which Action is still in so high Veneration, that

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

' was again admitted to the Court,
' where she flourished in great
' Estimation and Favour, hav-
' ing always a prime Grudge
' against my Lord Cardinal, for
' breaking the Contract between
' the Lord *Piercy* and herself,
' supposing it to be his own De-
' vise and no others. And she
' at last knowing the King's
' Pleasure, and the Depth of
' his Secrets, then began to look
' very haughtily and stout, lack-
' ing no manner of rich Appa-
' rel, or Jewels that Money
' could purchase.

' It was therefore imagined,
' by many through the Court,
' that she, being in such Favour,
' might do much with the King,
' and obtain any Suit of him for

' her Friends. All this while
' being in this Estimation in all
' Places, there was no doubt
' but good Queen *Katherine*,
' having this Gentlewoman dai-
' ly attending upon her, both
' heard by Report, and saw
' with her Eyes how all Things
' tended against her good La-
' dyship, although she seemed
' neither to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*,
' nor the King, to carry any
' spark of Discontent, or Dis-
' pleasure, but accepted all
' Things in good Part, and with
' great Wisdom, and much Pa-
' tience dissembled the same,
' having Mrs. *Anne Bullen* in
' more Estimation for the King's
' Sake, then when she was with
' her before, declaring herself
' indeed

that once a Year a publick Oration is pronounced in Commendation thereof.

Next he caused a Fountain of clear Water to be brought through divers Rocks and Mountains to the Town of *Torrelaguna*, which cost him a Million of Gold.

Then *Ferdinand* made him Governor of *Castile*, in the Absence of his Grandson *Charles*, who was proclaimed King thereof, tho' his Mother was alive. But the Cardinal was opposed by some of the Nobility, who asked him, *by what Power he acted as Governor?* Whereupon he shewed them some of the Army that were his ordinary Guards, and said, *The Power he had to execute his Authority, under his Sovereign, consisted in them.* Then, shaking his Cord of *St. Francis's* Order, he said, *That was enough to bring naughty Subjects to Reason:* At the same Time he got some Canons fired, and a Salvo of Firelocks; concluding in these Words, "*Hæc est ultima ratio Regis;*" which put an end to that Inquiry.

In

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

' indeed to be a very patient
' *Grissel*, as by her long Patience
' in all her Troubles shall here-
' after more plainly appear.

' For the King was now so
' enamoured of this young Gen-
' tlewoman, that he knew not
' how sufficiently to advance
' her.

' This being perceived by all
' the great Lords of the Court,
' who bore a secret Grudge a-
' gainst my Lord Cardinal, for
' that they could not rule in
' the Kingdom as they would
' for him, because he was *Domi-*
' *nus fac totum* with the King,
' and ruled as well the great
' Lords, as the mean Subjects;
' whereat they took an Occa-
' sion to work him out of the

' King's Favour, and conse-
' quently themselves into more
' Estimation.

' And after a long and secret
' Consultation with themselves,
' how to bring this Matter to
' pass, they knew very well that
' it was somewhat difficult for
' them to do absolutely them-
' selves: Wherefore, they per-
' ceiving the great Affection and
' Love the King bore to Mrs.
' *Anne Bullen*, supposing in their
' Judgments, that she would be
' a fit Instrument to bring their
' Intentions to pass, therefore
' they often consulted with her
' to that Purpose; and she hav-
' ing both a very good Wit, and
' also an inward Grudge and
' Displeasure against my Lord
' Cardinal,

In short, what *Ximenes* had done in *Africa* seemed so very acceptable to *Ferdinand*, that he declared, he would make an Expedition into that Part of the World in Person, and which he pretended he should do for the sake of the *Christian Religion*; but, notwithstanding all his fine Pretences, he never put them in Execution.

The Loss of the Battle of *Agnadel*, and other unforeseen Accidents, reduced the *Venetians* almost to Despair. Had this renowned Republick as firmly believed themselves, as they were positive in affirming it to others, that their Lakes served for an almost irresistible Defence to their City, all their Fears of a Siege would have vanished; but the Measures they took after the Battle of *Agnadel* proved the contrary, for they sent Ambassadors to the King of *Spain*, desiring Peace; and *Anton. Justiniani* was dispatched on the same Errand to the Emperor.

Affairs of Italy.
1509.

The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ Cardinal, was ever ready to
‘ accomplish their Desires, as
‘ they were themselves; where-
‘ fore there was no more to do,
‘ but only to imagine an Occa-
‘ sion to work their Malice
‘ by some pretended Circum-
‘ stances. Then did they dai-
‘ ly invent divers Devices how
‘ to effect their Purpose, but
‘ the Enterprize thereof was so
‘ dangerous, that though they
‘ would fain have attempted the
‘ Matter with the King, yet
‘ durst they not, for they
‘ knew the great Zeal the
‘ King did bear unto the Car-
‘ dinal; and this they knew
‘ very well, that if the Matter
‘ they should propound against
‘ him was not grounded upon a
‘ just and urgent Cause, the
‘ King’s Love was such towards
‘ him, and his Wit such with-
‘ al, that he could with his Po-
‘ licy vanquish all their Enter-
‘ prizes, and then after that re-
‘ quite them in the like Nature,
‘ to their utter Ruin.
‘ Therefore they were com-
‘ pelled to forbear their Plots,
‘ till they might have some bet-
‘ ter Ground to work upon.
‘ And now the Cardinal, seeing
‘ the great Zeal the King bore
‘ to this Gentlewoman, framed
‘ himself to please her, as well
‘ as the King. To that end
‘ therefore he prepares great
‘ Banquets and Feasts to enter-
‘ tain the King and her at his
‘ own House; she all this while
‘ dissembling

Justiniani's famous Speech in Behalf of the Venetians.

The Speech this Minister made to *Maximilian* has been the Subject of so much Dispute, that it induces us to give the Reader a Translation from the original *Latin*.

" It was with just Reasons that the Antients maintained, that the greatest and most glorious of all Victories was that which a Man obtained over himself: The Laurels such a Victory give never fade, and the Lustre they cast on the Brows that wear them far exceeds that of triumphant Crowns and Diadems. *Scipio Africanus* is more extolled for overcoming himself, than for subduing *Carthage*, and conquering *Africa*: It was by this transcendent Conquest that *Alexander*, a little *Macedonian* King, raised his Glory above all the Kings that had been before him. The Vows which *Darius* made for *Alexander* his Enemy, and which reflect more Honour on that Conqueror than all his brightest Victories, were purely owing to his Moderation. The unfortunate King of *Persia*, struck with the Clemency which *Alexander* shewed to his Queen and Family, whom Victory had given the absolute Disposal of, stretched out his Hands to Heaven, and earnestly implored, That, since it was not the Will of the Gods the Crown of *Persia* should remain on his Head, it might be put on that of so gentle an Enemy, and so generous a Conqueror. The great *Cæsar*, the first of your Predecessors, whose Virtues as well as Fortunes you inherit, was, for his Generosity and forgetting of Injuries, just-
" ly

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL.

' dissembling the secret Grudge ' in her Breast. Now the Cardinal began to grow into wonderful Inventions, not heard of before in <i>England</i> , and the Love, between this glorious	' Lady and the King, grew to such Perfection, that divers Things were imagined, whereof I forbear here to speak, until I come to a proper Place.
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“ by honoured with a Place among the Gods. The
 “ *Romans*, whose Successor you alone now are, and
 “ whose Majesty resides in your Person, had no o-
 “ ther bounds to their Empire than those of the then
 “ known World, yet the Kindness and Moderation;
 “ the Justice and Impartiality of that People, gained
 “ them more Subjects than the Valour of their Troops,
 “ and the Bravery and Conduct of their Generals.

“ The Fate of *Venice* is in your Hands, if you
 “ will reflect on the Frailty of human Greatness,
 “ if you will use with Indulgence the Power that
 “ Fortune has given you, if you will prefer that real
 “ and solid Glory, which you may lastingly obtain
 “ by giving us Peace, to the Uncertainty of glittering
 “ Victories, what room can their be left for doubte-
 “ ing, that the Name of *Maximilian* will be for ever
 “ had in the highest Veneration, and be inrolled a-
 “ mong those illustrious Persons who can never be
 “ named without the most ardent Respect. It were
 “ needless to have Recourse to former Times for
 “ Evidence to prove the Inconstancy of Fortune, or
 “ the Uncertainty of Events, or to demonstrate to
 “ how many Changes, to what hidden and unforeseen
 “ Dangers and Accidents every Thing, that may be
 “ called a human Settlement, is liable. The misera-
 “ ble and disconsolate Condition of the Republick of
 “ *Venice* does more than sufficiently prove it. Not
 “ many Days have passed since that rich, powerful,
 “ and illustrious State, revered by its Neighbours,
 “ and extolled by distant Nations, was the Admira-
 “ tion and the Astonishment of the whole World:
 “ To Day, this very Republick, by the Loss of one
 “ Battle, by receiving one slight Blow, is sunk into
 “ such a State of Misery and Contempt, and so altered
 “ and deformed are its Looks, that neither Friends
 “ nor Foes can easily know it. Its Glory is tarnish-
 “ ed, its Dominions are torn in Pieces; it is at a
 “ Loss for every Thing, and now seems to have

“ forgot, that, for a long time, it was a warlike
 “ and victorious State. But the *French* are widely
 “ out in their Accounts, if they reckon our Ruin is
 “ owing to their Arms. It is well known how our
 “ Ancestors, during a long Course of several Wars,
 “ especially that they maintained for many Years
 “ against that powerful Enemy of *Christendom*, sus-
 “ tained Losses greater than the Defeat of their Ar-
 “ my at *Vaila*,* without being daunted, and bore up
 “ against greater Misfortunes than that, without sink-
 “ ing under them. We should have recovered our-
 “ selves again after this Fall, as our Ancestors have
 “ done in the like Case ; like them we should have
 “ bent down those that made us trip, had we not
 “ been crushed to Pieces by the immense Greatness
 “ of your Imperial Majesty. Our Ruin is compleated
 “ by the Valour of that Nation which you lead on
 “ against us ; no hopes of Victory are now left us ;
 “ nor can we flatter ourselves so far as to fancy, that
 “ we shall ever dare to dispute the Combat again.
 “ We must lay down our Arms as too heavy for our
 “ Hands, and look for our Safety no where, but in
 “ the Humanity and Goodness of one of the lively
 “ Images of the God of Mercy. In the Name of
 “ the Doge, of the great Council, and of the Peo-
 “ ple of *Venice*, I do humbly beg, supplicate, and crave
 “ your Majesty to cast an Eye of Pity on us, and to
 “ stretch out a charitable Hand to our afflicted and
 “ inconsolable State. Prescribe what Conditions of
 “ Peace you please, we will readily subscribe them ;
 “ nay more, we will hold and repute them just and
 “ honourable, and as such we will observe them.
 “ Were we worthy to pronounce our own Sentence,
 “ we would readily abandon all the Encroachments
 “ and Usurpations our Ancestors ever made, either
 “ in the Empire, or in your hereditary Countries ;
 “ and, to the end these Offers may be the more suit-
 “ able

* The *French* call it *Agnadel*.

“ able to our present Circumstances, we are willing
 “ to add all that the Republick has possessed on the
 “ *Terra Firma*, and whatever Right and Title we had
 “ to those Dominions shall be resigned to your Ma-
 “ jesty, as to our rightful Lord and Sovereign. We
 “ will pay every Year, to your Majesty and your Suc-
 “ cessors, a Tribute of 50,000 Crowns of Gold.
 “ Finally, it is our full Purpose and Resolution to
 “ give entire Obedience to your Commands, Laws,
 “ Decrees, and Ordinances. All the Return we
 “ desire is only to defend and protect us from the
 “ Insolence of those who were lately our Allies, but
 “ now our most mortal Enemies; they having no-
 “ thing less in their View, than burying us and
 “ our Name in perpetual Oblivion. Would you
 “ shelter and protect us from their merciless Hands,
 “ we should ever look upon you as our Father and
 “ the Preserver of our City, and always own ourselves
 “ your People; our Annals shall be filled with your
 “ Praises, and our Children shall be taught early to
 “ sing them.

“ It would be no small Addition to your Re-
 “ nown, to have it said, that you were the first
 “ Prince that ever obliged the *Venetians* humbly to
 “ implore your Favour and Protection; and that the
 “ first time they ever Struck and lowered their
 “ Haughtiness was to you. We reverence you;
 “ we esteem you our Guardian Angel. Had the
 “ Almighty freed our Ancestors from that fatal Itch
 “ of meddling in the Affairs of Princes; our Repub-
 “ lick, instead of that Ignomy it now labours under,
 “ might this Day have eclipsed the Glory of all
 “ others; but those Treasures of Glory, we had
 “ been heaping up during a Series of so many Vic-
 “ tories, are all vanished in a Moment, and we are
 “ become the Contempt and Scorn of other Na-
 “ tions.

VOL. II.

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“ But,

“ But, to conclude, I once more beg Leave to say, that it is in your Power, great Sir, by excusing and pardoning your poor *Venetians*, to adorn your sacred Head with more verdant and lasting Laurels, than ever Conqueror did by his brightest Victories; the Glory now in your Power to cloath yourself with will pass down to the latest Posterity without any Diminution, being above the Reach of, and independant on, any Accident. Succeeding Ages will celebrate you as the most gracious of all Princes, and, as such, will raise your Memory above that of any Mortal: As for us, we will eternally sound your Praise, and, must ever gratefully own, that it is to the Greatness of *Maximilian's* Soul that we owe our Breath, and are still of the Number of the Living.”

This Speech not only demonstrates, that the *Venetians* despaired of saving their Republick from Ruin, but also affords fair and considerable Pretensions for the Empire in general, and the House of *Austria* in particular, to the strictest *Friendship* from that Republick; and, if we should say *Faalty* too, we believe it would be no Error. Hence it is, that the *Venetian* Historians would persuade the World, that this Speech was foisted upon them, and cry loudly against *Guicciardin*, as the Author and Forger of it. But, that Author assures us, he writes nothing but Truth, and positively declares this Piece to be authentick, and delivered by him without any other Alteration, than that of turning into *Italian*, what *Justiniani* delivered in *Latin*; tho' *Gion Baptista Leoni* has took great Pains to invalidate the Veracity of *Guicciardin's* Relation.

The *Venetians* also sent the Cardinals *Grimini* and *Cornaro* to attend his Holiness, who, being admitted to an Audience, requested, in the most respectful Terms, in the Name of their Country, a Remission of their Censures, on the Republick's

having

having restored, within the Term of twenty four Days, all they had possessed belonging to the Church.

Julius received them with a good deal of Disdain, stiffly denied their Request, and absolutely refused to suffer the Six Ambassadors to come into his Presence, whom the Republick had sent to assist the Cardinals upon this Occasion, alledging, "That the *Venetians* had not offered the Satisfaction due to him; that, besides the Territories of the Church, which they had unjustly possessed themselves of, they ought to have restored all the Fruits and Profits of them, which they had received during their Possession; that, for the full Accomplishment of this Monitory, they must further give Satisfaction for the inconsiderate Attempts they had made upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and that they were not to expect any Indulgence or Relief from *Rome*, till they had executed the Conditions of his Bull in every Point."

In short, the Senate received in one Day not only the mortifying News that their Ambassadors they had sent both to the King of *Spain* and the Emperor, were returning home without succeeding in their Commissions, and also an Account of what had passed at *Rome*.

The Venetians receive bad News from their Ministers.

Bembo tells us, that the Senate were so touched with the Pope's Behaviour, that they flew out into the most bitter Invectives against him. *Mark Loredano*, the Doge's Son, moved, in the Senate, "To send Ambassadors to the *Ottoman* Court, to request Succour and Assistance against the Pope." And his Motion was so much applauded by many of the Senators, that he had like to have carried it, had not some of the wiser Sort mitigated Matters, and brought their Brethren into a cooler Way of thinking, (which proved the Safety of this Republick) and at last, Passion and Heat being banished from that Body,

they came to Resolutions equal to the Emergency, with the greatest Integrity, Speed and Secrecy; and the Execution of them, tho' often committed to Persons that had given their Opinions against them, was performed with Fidelity and Expedition; particularly, they one and all agreed, however mortifying it might be, to give the Pope all the Satisfaction he demanded, which they thought, as Affairs then stood, was their wisest Course to take: And therefore the Doge, sent Letters to his Holiness, expressing an entire Submission without Reserve. "He begged
 " that the Ambassadors, sent to humbly implore
 " Absolution from the Ecclesiastical Censures they had
 " incurred, might have the Honour to kiss his Feet,
 " and give him the utmost Acknowledgment he
 " could desire."

*The Pope favours
 the Venetians.*

These Letters had the desired Effect, and was the Cause of abating his Resentment, and bringing him to reflect on the dangerous Consequences of the League he had formed which put him upon answering the Doge's Letters in a Strain becoming a relenting Father to a penitent Son, and calling a Consistory, wherein he proposed the Admission of the *Venetian* Ambassadors, and spoke of that Republick in Terms contrary to the Strain he had before used; and all the Cardinals greatly commended his Holiness's Lenity.

In the mean time *Baynbridge*, Archbishop of *York*, the *English* Ambassador, was very diligent to gain from the Pope what the *Venetians* had so much at Heart: His Holiness shewed so much Deference for this Minister, that at his Instance he was prevailed with to refuse *Maximilian* the Gallies of the Church, which he demanded in order to make an Attempt upon the City of *Venice*, (having *Lewis's* Consent to employ the *French* Troops in that Siege) which Refusal seems to have been partly the Preservation of that Republick.

The Pope's Change of Behaviour put new Life into the *Venetians*, and made them begin to raise up their Heads again: And, certain it is, that great Afflictions make small Comforts very acceptable.

All this while inglorious *Maximilian* resided at *Trent*, full of Indolence and Security; persuading himself, that his Allies would take care to preserve those Conquests they had made for him; and therefore thought it enough to send Governours to the conquered Places with but a handful of Men, as we have before related; and these Officers, tho' weakly backed, had the Folly to commit cruel Extortions every Day. The People of *Padua* were the first that privately shewed their Desire of returning to their Obedience under their old Masters; which was no sooner known at *Venice*, but the Senate met to consider of some Method to assist them: The Doge, *Loredano*, vigorously opposed this Enterprize,* by representing, "how imprudent it would be, by any dangerous Attempt, to provoke an Enemy they were in no Condition to oppose;" and *la Molina* warmly pleaded for the Attempt, with whom the Senate agreed: And it may justly be said, that it is to this noble *Venetian* the Republick owes all they now possess in *Italy*, except the Dogade. *Andrew Gritti* took upon himself the Charge of this Expedition, and marched directly to *Padua*, with an Army of 5000 Foot, 400 Men at Arms, and 2000 *Albanians*, and, on the 18th Day of *June*, he became Master of the Place by the Favour of the Inhabitants. This happy Success produced incredible Raptures of Joy in *Venice*; in every Church they returned publick Thanks to the Almighty; (and they still con-

Maximilian continues to sit quite easily at Trent.

The Venetians take Padua by Surprise.

* The Sequel shews this Nobleman was as much mistaken in his Objection, as his Son was in his

Motion, when he was for their applying to the *Ottoman* Port for Assistance against the Pope.

continue to repeat the same, and make great Rejoicings yearly on that Day) Trade and Commerce began to be renewed, and the publick as well as private Credit was thereby restored.

The *Venetians*, having possessed themselves of this gallant City, the Territory belonging to it came of course under their Obedience. They likewise found Means to recover *Legnago*, which gave them free Passage over the *Adige*.

This Success induced the Senate to make
The Senate a noble-spirited Act, by which they ob-
*make a no-*liged themselves to exempt their faithful
ble Act.

Subjects from all publick Charges, and to make good all the Losses they had sustained, or should sustain, during the present War.

But, soon after the *Venetians* had possessed themselves of *Padua*, *Maximilian* arrived in *Lombardy*, with such a Number of Troops as would have rendered their Design impracticable, had they not luckily been beforehand of heavy Genius.

Lewis XII. directs his General to obey the Emperor's Orders. *Lewis* the XIIth constituted Monsieur *la Palisse*, Commander of the Forces in *Milan* (in the Absence of Marshal *Chaumont*, the Governor) with

Direction to obey such Orders as he should receive from the *Emperor*, and to use his utmost Diligence for the common Interest of all the Parties joined in the League. This Officer employed himself in preserving *Vicenza* and *Verona* for *Maximilian*; but the Inhabitants invited the *Venetians* to come to their Assistance, and take Possession of those Places: To prevent this *la Palisse* came up in time with his Troops, frustrated their Designs, and obliged the *Venetian* Army, which had taken the Field upon this Occasion, retire under the Walls of *Padua*.

The Mortification, this Disappointment gave the *Venetians*, was quickly recompenced by another Incident that gave them much Pleasure, which was this:

The Marquis of *Mantua* (who had been one of their Commanders, but dishonourably deserted them) was going to join the *French*, and incamped at *Isola della Scala*, without either Watch or Guard, believing himself far enough from the Enemy, to need any of the usual military Precautions. Hearing this, the Garrison of *Legnago* marched out, surprized his little Army, and made them Prisoners; but the Marquis made his Escape by the Favour of the Night, and hid himself so snug in a Field of Corn, that the Garrison thought it in vain to look after him: However, applying himself to a Country Fellow for a Guide, to conduct him to *Verona*, he was betrayed, and carried in Triumph to *Venice*.

The Venetians take the Marquis of Mantua Prisoner.

The Emperor seemed very easy under the Loss of *Padua*, comforting himself with a Project he had laid of besieging it; the Taking of which Place would put him in a Condition to make other Attempts against *Venice*: For that Purpose he marched for the *Vicentine*, depending on the Fidelity of that People, who had lately sworn Allegiance to him; but he found himself obliged to dispute every Step, for the Country People had taken Arms, and so planted themselves, as that his Men were attacked in Front, Flank, and Rear; so that many of them deserted, having no Stomach to fight in a Country, where they had no Prospect of Plunder. However, at last his Imperial Majesty arrived in the *Vicentine*, with his Army very much weakned and diminished; and here *Maximilian* halted to refresh the Remainder of his Forces, and were joined by some *French* and *Spanish* Troops.

The Emperor resolves to besiege Padua.

In the mean time the Count de *Pitigliano*, General of the *Venetian* Army, was appointed Governor of *Padua*,

Pitigliano made Governor of Padua.

and

and no less a Garrison was put into that Place than the whole Army of the Republick, with the Addition of a considerable Number of the best Militia; so that the Garrison consisted of near 25,000 Men; it was furnished with all Manner of Stores and Provisions; all the Trades People were employed to work at the Fortifications, and every one was allowed to give in his Scheme of the Expedients he thought best, for defending and saving *Padua*; and the Measures and Conduct of the Doge at that Time were not unworthy a *Roman*.

The *Venetian* Historians are full of Speeches, made in the Senate, relating to the best Method of defending *Padua*, but most of them are so extravagant, that we did not think them worth inserting: And it's generally allowed, that the Historians of the 15th Century, with a Design to embellish their Performances, have put a great Variety of such Speeches into the Mouths of their Heroes.

However, this is certain, that the Doge, *Loredano*, was as forward now to defend *Padua*, as he was before for not attempting to take it; he, in a set Speech, begged of the Senate, that his Sons might be allowed to shut themselves up in *Padua*, and his Request was received with great Satisfaction; and 300 of the young Nobility, being fired with martial Emulation, obtained Permission also to accompany the Doge's Sons, which they did accordingly.

All Things being thus provided for the Defence of *Padua*, at last the Emperor came and encamped within three Miles of it, and first tried, tho' in vain, to divert the Course of the River *Brente*, the Engineers having mistaken the Level; for the Channel of the River was found to be lower than the neighbouring Ground, thro' which they intended to turn its Course. The whole Artillery being come,

he

*The Doge sends
his Sons thither.*

*The Emperor
arrives near
Padua.*

he advanced and encamped before *Padua*, which he could not invest, because of the large Compass of the Place. *Maximilian* had not a sufficient Army for his Enterprize ; for, including the Troops of the *French* and *Spaniards*, he could not reckon above 1700 Men at Arms, and 32,000 Foot ; tho' his Train of Artillery was very fine, and well appointed.

The first Batteries he raised were over-against those Works that lay next to the *Padua* ~~be~~ Gate of the *Holy Cross*, believing that *seged*. to be the weakest Part, as indeed it was, some time before the Siege ; but the Besieged had, for that Reason, made it the strongest, as the Emperor's Forces found it : Besides, from the Works they had raised upon the Flanks, they fired so furiously on the Attacks, that the Besiegers were forced to alter their Design. On a Consultation held, the Emperor thought it adviseable to remove the Attack from thence to the Bastion, next to *Venice*-Gate ; but the Strength of the Garrison, and the Nature of the Ground about it, made their Approaches of very little Effect, and gave them no small Trouble ; there being so many Springs, their Works were full of Water before they could finish them ; and the frequent Sallies the Besieged made, and the more frequent Alarms they gave the Enemy, often obliged the Pioneers, and others that wrought in the Trenches, to abandon their Works, and run to their Arms.

In short, no Day passed without Action ; the Light-horse of the Besieged had the Boldness to enter the Enemy's Camp and carry off Prisoners ; insomuch that, if the *Venetian* Historians may be credited, such was the Nature of that Siege, and so great was the Variety of the Motions while it lasted, that no Hand less than that of *Titus Livius*, who was born in the Place, was able to write the History of it.

T. Livius
born at *Padua*.

The Bastion, that the Besiegers had attacked, was now laid quite open, so that in a Council of War it was agreed to make a general Assault: The *Germans*, the *French*, and the *Spaniards* mounted the Breaches in three different Bodies, and the Assaults were very terrible, and in a little time the Emperor saw his Colours planted on the Bastion; but the Artillery of the Place having full Command of the backside of the Works, and the Garrison making a vigorous Resistance, the Besiegers were at last repulsed with considerable Loss.

The Siege raised, and the Emperor retires into Germany.

Maximilian, being a Man who soon grew weary of any Enterprize, and who could not wait long for Success, upon this Disappointment lost Heart, raised the Siege 16 Days after the opening of the Trenches, and retired to *Vicenza*; from whence, having disbanded his Army, he went to *Verona*, and from thence proceeded to *Germany*, without taking any other Methods for the Preservation of his new Acquisitions, than leaving the Margrave of *Brandenburg* with some Troops at *Verona*.

These Measures did not at all suit the present Conjunction, but the Emperor, according to his usual Politicks, reckoned that all his Neglects would be sufficiently supplied by the Favour of Fortune; and the Diligence of his Allies.

The Venetians became Masters of Vicenza.

Before he had gotten as far as *Trent* he saw the Effect of his Indolence; for the *Venetians* soon became Masters of *Vicenza*, upon the Invitation of the Inhabitants; and *Verona* would have followed their Example, had not the *French* General, with great Expedition, throwed 300 *French* Gendarmes into the Place. It was not in *Lombardy* only that the Campaign ended happily for the *Venetians*; for they retook several Places in *Friuli* and *Istria*; they also attempted *Ferrara*, which, tho' it proved unsuccessful,

cessful, was no less for the Reputation of their Arms, than their former Advantages; for, by that Attempt, they shewed to all *Europe*, who believed their Republick to be at its last Gasps, that they had not only Forces sufficient to defend themselves, but to attack others.

Before this Year expired a Difference arose between *Lewis* and his Holiness, about the Nomination to vacant Bishopricks in the *French* Dominions, which was soon settled, they readily agreeing, 'That the Pope should prefer those he thought fit to such Sees as were then vacant, but for the future should collate none but upon the King's Presentation.' But this Agreement was one of the Causes of the Quarrel that soon followed between his Holiness and *Lewis*, and produced those uncommon Events, consequent of the memorable League of *Cambray*: And such was the Uneasiness of the Pope at this time, that he could not see, without great Concern, *Maximilian* and *Lewis* so closely united, especially as the *French* King was so firmly settled in the Dutchy of *Milan*, from whence it seemed impossible to dislodge him; nor did the Emperor give him less Uneasiness, since he had Entrance into *Italy* through *Verona*, and other Places he had got by this War; nor did he know what to make of the powerful Aid the *French* sent the Emperor, to compleat the Ruin of the *Venetians*: He also was under much Anxiety, lest these two Monarchs had made a private Treaty to share all *Italy* between them; and, for fear it should be so, began to consider how he could withstand such formidable Powers thus united, inasmuch as *Venice* was much weakened, and the King of *Spain* was not to be depended on, who knew but too well how to make use of all Treaties for his own Benefit. Notwithstanding all these Difficulties his Holiness despaired not, but resumed his Project of agreeing with the *Venetians*; of taking

Ferdinand off from the League of *Cambray*, by investing him with *Naples*; of using his best Endeavours to set the Emperor and the King of *France* at Variance; of bringing a *Swiss* Army into the *Milanese*; and of persuading *Henry* the VIIIth to make a Diverſion in *France*, that he might have the Opportunity of driving the *French* out of *Italy*; and how far he ſucceeded in theſe different Points muſt be poſtponed a while, becauſe here we think proper to end the Year 1509.

THIS Year was opened with the *Affairs of* *Venetians* renewing, with greater Ardour than *Italy*. before, the Negotiation at *Rome*; but *Lewis* 1510. the XIIth left no Art uneffayed to prevent their ſucceeding, and ſent *Albert* Count *de Carpi* thither to aſſiſt the Cardinal *de Auſch*, who had the Management of his Affairs at that Court, whoſe Inſtructions were to make the Pope ſuch Offers, as he thought could not fail of being agreeable; to acquaint his Holineſs, that the King, being fully reſolved to be guided by his Council, humbly requeſted to know, Whether he ſhould make an Expedition into *Italy* this Year for promoting the common Intereſt? and to aſſure him, that he deſired nothing more than the ſtrict Obſervation of the Treaties that were ſtill ſubſiſting.

But after all the Count *de Carpi*'s Induſtry and Addreſs, who was eminent for that Faculty, he was not able to incline the Pope to *French* Meaſures, his Holineſs being too far advanced in his Opinion, that it was his Intereſt to retreat in his Alliance with *Lewis* as ſoon as with Safety he could; ſo that all the King got by the Journey of his Count to *Rome*, was to have him and the Cardinal Witneſſes to the Pope's abſolving the *Venetians*.

The Pope longed as much to give this *Absolution*, as the *Venetians* did to receive it, his Views being accom-

accomplished; for he now feared the Ruin of the Republick as much as he wished to see it humbled, when he entered into the League of *Cambray*; and accordingly, on the 25th of *February*, in a full Consistory, his Holiness ordered the Conditions to be read, which were, “ That for the future

“ the Republick should confer no Benefices but such as were of Lay Patronage.—That they should not trouble,

The Conditions of the Absolution.

“ or molest in any manner those who had received Benefices or Collation from the Court of *Rome*.

“ —That it should be lawful for their Subjects to bring all their Ecclesiastical Causes to that Court, as to the last Resort.—That they should actually retract the Appeal they had made to a future Council.

“ — That the Republick should lay no Tax or Impositions upon the Goods and Incomes of the Church. —That they should renounce all Rights and Pretensions whatsoever to the Lands belonging to the Church, and especially to the Right they claimed of establishing a *Vidame*, or Judge, at *Ferrara*.—That the Subjects of the Ecclesiastical Domi-

“ nions should be allowed to trade freely on the *Adriatick*; and that their Ships of whatever Kind, or loaded with what Goods soever, whether for themselves or Strangers, should not be liable to any * *Search* or Imposition.—That the Republick should in no manner meddle with, or take Cognizance of, what Treatment the Pope should think fit to use to any of his Vassals, or be any ways aiding or assisting to them. — Finally, that the Republick should make good all the * *Damages* they had occasioned, either to the Churches or Revenues of the Clergy, during the whole Course of the War.”

The

* It is plain, that *Searching* of trading Ships gave Rise to Quarrels among Princes formerly as well as at this Day; and we wish our present Ministry may

take as much Care to have our *Damages* and *Expences* (occasioned by, and subsequent thereto) made good, as his Holiness did.

The *Venetian* Ambassadors having signed an Instrument, by which they submitted to all these Conditions, the Pope admitted them into the Consistory, and there gave them Absolution with the usual Ceremonies.

The *Venetians* no sooner received Advice of the Pope's Absolution, than with redoubled Ardour they renewed their Endeavours for maintaining the War, raising an Army of 1400 Men at Arms, 4000 Light-horse, and 10,000 Foot: The Pope having allowed such of his Subjects as would to go into their Service, it contributed much to the compleating their Troops; which Allowance, tho' a manifest Breach of the League of *Cambray*, gave high Satisfaction to the *Venetians*; for the most famous and experienced Officers in the Ecclesiastical Dominions engaged under the Banner of the *Venetians*.

But what gave the *Venetians* no small Uneasiness was the Death of their great General, *Pitigliano*, who died at *Padua* the beginning of the Spring. He was an Officer of great Merit; one who, in a Manner, had grown old with his Sword in his Hand; and, whilst *Italians* fought with *Italians*, was reputed a very daring General; but after the Battle of *Fornuovo*, in which he was made sensible how much the Troops from this side the *Alps* exceeded those of the other, he became so wary and circumspect, that he passed rather for a fearful, than a forward Commander, being always against hazardous Measures, and thought the best Way would be for the *Italians* to forbear coming to Blows with the Enemy; not unlike the sham-making Marches lately exercised between the *Sardinian*, *Spanish*, and *Neapolitan* Troops in *Italy*.

After the Death of *Pitigliano*, the Doge, *Loredano*, in Person, proposed to the Marquis of *Mantua*,

to take upon him the Command of the Army of the Republick, whose Prisoner he then was, and he did not fail to set off his Offer with all those Advantages of insinuating Flattery, which the *Venetians* knew so well how to practise, when they would allure Foreign Officers into their Armies.

The Marquis, impatient to get out of Prison, readily promised what was required of him ; but, being disappointed in giving the Security he proposed, the Senate began to think of another General, and resolved upon one *Fregosa* ; and he proving not only a very indifferent Man, but a very indifferent Soldier, they did not employ him long, before they sent in his Place *Malvezzi* and *Paul Baglione* successively.

Whilst these different Matters were transacting *Maximilian* was always disposed to take the Field, but was seldom or never in a Condition to do it. He was profuse as well as covetous, and as many Channels as there were to carry Money into his Coffers, so many Holes there were in them to let it slip out ; but he reckoned upon two certain Funds, for supplying the Charges of the Campaign he was then going to open ; the first was the Finances of the King of *France*, his Ally, and the other a Subsidy from the Empire, the Diet of which he had summoned to meet at *Augsburg*. But the Pope sent his Nuncio to the Diet, to traverse such Proposals as the Emperor should make. The *Venetians* likewise sent their secret Agents thither, to represent to the Princes and Ministers, how much it was for the Interest of the Empire, to oppose the Emperor's Designs upon *Italy*. However the Negotiations of the Nuncio, and the Endeavours and secret Practices of those Agents might retard the Deliberations of the Diet, yet they all proved abortive,

Affairs of Germany.

Maximilian holds a Diet of the Empire.

bortive, and the Diet at last came to the Resolution of complying with the Emperor's Demands.

Maximilian was powerfully seconded by the *French* Plenipotentiary, and the Credit of his Master in *Germany* was very great. The Plenipotentiary was a Man of eminent Worth and high Reputation, and especially valued for his great Eloquence, which had strong Influence, and produced surprizing Effects even at that Time; his Name was *Lewis Helian*, a Native of *Vercell*, and Counsellor of State in *France*. This able Minister delivered a Speech against the *Venetians* in the Diet, which at once shewed him to be as well the Statesman as the Scholar.

As soon as the Diet broke up the
The Germans
and French
take the Field
in Italy. Count of *Hanaw*, the Emperor's Lieutenant General in *Italy*, assembled an Army of 500 Spearmen and 15,000 Foot, and joined Marshal *Cbaumont's* Forces, (who had taken upon himself the Command of the *French* Troops there, in the room of *la Palisse*, employed elsewhere) and those two Generals marched directly to *Vicenza*; but the *Venetian* Army kept at a good Distance before the other, and, not thinking it adviseable to defend that Place, entrenched themselves at *Brentelli*, as a Post in which they could not be attacked, by reason of the River that covered it.

The Inhabitants of *Vicenza*, finding themselves thus abandoned by the *Venetians*, sent their Magistrates to present the Keys of their Town to the Count of *Hanaw*, and to beg his Pardon, for having surprized and drove out the *German* Garrison the Year before. The pathetick Speech those Magistrates made on this Occasion is related at large by *Gucciardin*; by which the Count, as this Historian says, was nothing moved, being swelled with barbarous Insolence: And though *Cbaumont*, by his Intercession saved the Lives of those in the Town of *Vicenza*, Count *Hanaw* gave all their Effects as a Prey to the ravenous Soldiers, and caused them

them to pursue the rest to the very Holes and Dens of the Mountains, whither they had run to hide themselves, and great part of them, having shut themselves up in a vast and almost inaccessible Cave, were choaked to Death by the Smoak of Fires lighted at the Mouth thereof by his Orders.

After the Sacking of *Vicenza*, most part of the Emperor's Soldiers, who seldom received any Pay, deserted, and by this Means the Design of Besieging *Padua* a second Time came to nothing: *Cbaumont* therefore, being disabled from executing what he first intended, resolved to retake *Legnago*, the only Pass the *Venetians* had upon the *higher Adige*. This River runs through the Middle of that Town, and the Part that lies on the left Side of the River is called the *Port*; round this the *Venetians* had drawn some slight Works, and let the Water of the *Adige* into them, on which Side *Cbaumont* intended to come as he came from *Vicenza*. The Day he encamped at *Minerbio*, the Garrison of *Legnago* marched out to reconnoitre the Enemy's Troops; but the *French* Infantry, having drove them back to the Brink of the first Ditch, and forced them to swim over, it so disheartened the *Italians*, that they retired in the greatest Confusion, and suffered the *French* to enter into the *Port* without Opposition: Then *Cbaumont*, having ordered a Body of Men to advance from the other Side of the *Adige*, they attacked the Town of *Legnago* so warmly, that, in a few Days, the Garrison abandoned it, and endeavoured to save their Lives thro' the Water that then overflowed the neighbouring Grounds; and the Castle, being left almost defenceless, was forced to capitulate.

The Germans desert for Want of Pay.

Legnago taken.

Cardinal d'Amboise's Death and Character.

It was at this Place that *Cbaumont* received the melancholy News of his Uncle, the Cardinal *d'Amboise's* Death, which was not only a great Affliction to his Family, but fatal to *France* as Affairs then stood. This Pre-
late's

late's great Virtues surpassed even the Brightness of his Parts and Extent of his Knowledge : His Patience was such as made him easy to wait a proper Season for accomplishing what he designed. His Courage made Danger appear mere Inconveniences, which might retard, but not prevent, the Execution of what he had proposed. He was endued with such Resolution and Firmness of Mind, that he could never be diverted from his Purpose by all the Entreaties of his Friends, or Menaces of his Enemies. His Perseverance was Proof against Delays of Time, the Slowness of Men, and the impertinent Discouragements of Courtiers. So great was the Confidence his Master reposed in him, that it is very probable he would have prevented the open Rupture between *France* and the Pope, had he lived a little longer ; though at first some thought his Death would be a Means to reconcile the King to the Pope, who expressed an infinite Joy on this Change ; but it had a contrary Effect, by multiplying Grounds of Quarrel between those two Princes. The Pope demanded the Cardinal's Treasure, which amounted to 300,000 Crowns of Gold in *Specie*, to which, as he conceived, he ought to succeed. The King refused to give it him, which raised new Discontent, and a fresh Complaint.

The Emperor quite careless of his Affairs.

So little Care did the Emperor take of his own Concerns, and especially of keeping up an Army in *Italy*, that *Chaumont* was forced to put a *French* Garrison into *Legnago*, though in the Name of his Imperial Majesty, which, by the Treaty of *Cambray*, was indeed assigned to him.

Whilst *Chaumont* was preparing to return to his own Government, he received Orders from the King, to continue longer in the Service of the Emperor, there having been a new Agreement made between *Lewis* the XIIth and *Maximilian*, by which *Lewis* lent that Prince 100,000 Crowns of Gold, and his Army,

Army, upon Condition that he should have *Verona* as a Pledge, till he was fully reimbursed.

In the Beginning of *June* the Duke of *Monfelicis Termini* joined *Chaumont* with a Body of *Spanish* taken, *Spearman*, which were the Troops the King of *Spain* was obliged to furnish the Emperor with by the Treaty of *Cambray*; and as soon as this Army had drawn a Part of the *German* Garrison out of *Verona*, it marched to *Monfelicis*, which is a little Town between *Este* and *Padua*, and made themselves Masters of it.

After the Taking of *Monfelicis*, *Chaumont* left 400 *Spearman* and 1500 *Spanish* Foot, that were in the King of *France*'s Pay, to secure the Emperor's Conquests, and ordered another Detachment to be ready to succour the Duke of *Ferrara*, in case the Pope should attack him, which he had threatned (upon the Duke's refusing to break the League of *Cambray*) and marched the rest of the Troops into his Government of *Milan*.

The Pope was so greatly enraged at what *Chaumont* had been acting, in Conjunction with the Emperor and *Spanish* Forces, and at *Lewis*'s Resolution to succour the Duke of *Ferrara*, that he forthwith declared War against *France*, and at once ordered the Cardinal *d'Auscb*, the *French* Ambassador, to be confined in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and his Army to begin the War, by falling upon the Duke of *Ferrara*.

The Pope declares War against France, and imprisons her Ambassador.

This Army advanced to the very Gates of *Ferrara*, having in its March taken all the little Places in that Country that lay in their Way. Upon the News of the Motions of the Pope's Forces, *Chaumont*'s Succours marched to the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Assistance; and, as soon as they came up, the Pope's Troops retired, (not liking to deal with the *French* in the open Field, though they were superior in Number to their Enemy)

my) leaving behind them a Part of their Artillery, which had advanced too far to be brought off. However, notwithstanding the Precipitation of their Retreat, they found Means to enter *Modena*, through the Favour of the *Rangoni*, who were as powerful in the City as the Sovereign himself, where we shall leave them.

The Swiss Alliance with France expires.

During these Transactions a Matter happened, that in the End proved very prejudicial to *Lewis* the XIIth; the Alliance with the *Swiss*, concluded at *Lucern*, in 1500, for ten Years, expiring, (by which the King was to pay each of the ten Cantons 1000 Crowns of Gold yearly) they demanded double the Sum; but *Lewis* would advance no more than 2000 Crowns, and that only because the People of *Basil* and *Scaffhausen*, who had formed themselves into Cantons, after the Treaty of *Lucern*, should come in for an equal Share with the other ten. To this Offer the *Swiss* answered, very haughtily, that *France* ought not to haggle with such brave Men, who had done her too great Service to have any Terms put upon them, and that they must have 20,000 Crowns of Gold a Year, or nothing.

To this *Lewis* refused to comply, being vexed, that a People, whom the King of *France* (to use *Philip de Comine's* Expression) had brought *into the Light of the World*, should presume to dictate the Conditions of a Treaty, instead of courting his Favour; and therefore, the more to mortify them, he took some *German* and other Troops into his Service; though this was not a proper Time to save his Money, or to stand so much upon the Point of Honour.

The Pope, hearing what had passed, sent an Agent to the Diet held at *Lucern*, to engage them in his Service, hoping, through their Assistance, to carry all before him against his Enemies; they ac-

The Pope engages the Swiss in his Interest.

cepted the Conditions his Holiness proposed, and resolved, that a Body of their Troops should be immediately sent into *Italy*, with Orders to obey the Pope's Commands; but with this Direction, (as the Body had Reasons for not yet absolutely breaking with *France*) that they should march under the Banner of the Canton of *Schwitz* only, who had Cause to resent an Affront which the *French* had lately given them at *Milan*. But this Artifice was easily seen through, since that Canton, which was one of the least States of the *Helvetic* Body, was not able to furnish a sixth Part of the Troops that were going into *Italy*.

In short, the *Swiss* were eager to fight the *French*, (who had touched them to the Quick, by hiring *German* and other Infantry in their Place) and for that End soon assembled an Army of 40,000 Men. These Forces set out on their March for the *Milanese*, which was so little expected, that, when *Cbaumont* heard of it, he was at a stand what to do, being but just returned from the Expedition we have been speaking of; and, having left a Number of his Troops, to assist both the Emperor and the Duke of *Ferrara*, he could muster no more than 1000 Spearmen and 7 or 8000 Foot: However, he divided this Body in two Parts, because he was not sure what Rout the *Swiss* would take; but, by their rendezvouzing at *Bellinzona*, his Doubts were removed, and he then saw plainly, that their Design was to fall down into the Dutchy of *Milan*, properly so called.

On the 6th of *September* the *Swiss* entered the *Milanese*, and encamped at *Castiglione*, whilst *Cbaumont*, with his little Army, attended them, at six Miles Distance, to watch their Motions: In three or four Marches they encamped near *Como*, and *Cbaumont* kept pace with them, but chose rather to induce them to return Home, than to give them Battle; in order to

*They march
into the Mil-
lanese.*

which,

which, he caused all the Provisions, that were in the Places through which they were to pass, to be carried off, and harassed them Day and Night with the Handful of Light-horse he had in his Army. His Project succeeded, for the *Swiss*, being pinched with Hunger, returned to their own Country, after enduring much fruitless Fatigue.

Thus ended the first Expedition of the *Swiss*, which the *Venetians* as well as the Pope had flattered themselves would have produced some favourable Event; at least, that it would have given the *French* Work enough for a Time. In hopes of this, the former resolved on the Siege of *Verona*; and *Malvezzi*, who was become General of their Forces in the Room of *Baglione*, had Orders to form it, which accordingly he did. His Army consisted of 800 Men compleatly armed, 3000 Light-horse, 10,000 mercenary Troops, and the *Venetian* Militia, attended by a great Number of Pioneers, most Part of whom came of their own accord.

No Nation ever shewed more Zeal for the Service of their *native* Prince, than the *Venetian* Peasants expressed for the Glory of *St. Mark*; and, during the Course of this War, they devoted themselves so far to the Service of their Masters, as to run the Risque of being their Spies; nor were the Hazards they underwent, or the Misfortunes of the Republick, able to cool their Ardour for the Good of their Country. Historians give many Instances of these stedfast People, who chose to suffer all the Indignities, unruly and bloody Soldiers could put upon them, and even Death itself, rather than do or say any Thing that might tend in the least to the Disadvantage of, or even seem to *revile* or appear *disrespectful* to their *Governors*.*

A

* These *Governors* studied the more than their own *private Interest* or *Passions*. See p. 46.

A like Instance of Firmness and dutiful Affection, we have at this Day in the *Austrians, Hungarians, Bobemians, &c.* to the Queen of *Hungary*, their lawful Sovereign, notwithstanding all the Misfortunes and ill Treatment that noble Princess has met with. Both which Instances will always make future Annals shine.

And that of the Austrians, &c. compared.

But it was the Republick's Unhappiness, that their Troops did not shew so much Courage, as their Subjects did Fidelity. All that Foresight and Opulence could do, to carry on and facilitate a Siege, was to be seen in the *Venetian* Camp before *Verona*, and there was nothing wanting but good Troops; yet all the Treasure of the Republick, and all the Wisdom and Conduct of the Senate could not give Courage to their dastardly Soldiers; the Works they threw up before the Place were always demolished before they were finished; and if, by Chance, they planted Pieces of Cannon on their Batteries, the Besieged had the Spirit to march out, with their Drums beating, and carry them into the Town. This ill Conduct of the *Venetian* Soldiers was Reason sufficient for raising the Siege; but *Chaumont's* coming to relieve the Place, after he had played back the *Swiss* into their own Country, gave the Besiegers a fair Pretence for so doing; accordingly the *Venetian* Army retired to *St. Boniface*, and encamped on a Ground that was so covered by a River near it, and the adjoining Morasses, that it was impossible for the Art of Men to force them.

The Venetian Soldiers wanted Courage.

Chaumont relieves Verona.

Julius the 11d received at once the mortifying News of the Retreat of the *Swiss*, and the Raising of the Siege of *Verona*; and, one Misfortune treading upon the Heels of another, the Pope now seemed willing to treat with

Pope Julius under great Perplexity.

with the King of *France*, and put an End to a War which he had so hastily commenced against him and his Allies; but an Affair soon after fell out, that made him change his Mind, being very unwilling to part with his beloved Project of driving the *French* out of *Italy*.

The Marquis of Mantua released.

For, to return to the Marquis of *Mantua*, he was released from his Confinement by the Intercession of his old Friend, the Grand Siegnior, *Bajazet*, with whom the Marquis had kept a constant Correspondence, with a Design to obtain his Protection against the *Venetians*. This formidable Protector of the *Mantuan* sent for the *Venetian* Ambassador, residing at the Port, and told him, in Terms very explicit, that his Masters must forthwith set at Liberty his best Friend, the Marquis of *Mantua*. No sooner had the Senate (who generally took care to keep fair with the *Porte*) seen their Ambassador's Dispatches, but they set the Marquis at Liberty: However, the *Venetians*, who knew how to improve every thing to the best Advantage, persuaded him, that the Favour, they had shewed him, was chiefly owing to the Pope's good Offices, and with this Persuasion they sent him to his Holiness, full fraught with thankful Acknowledgments for the Paternal Care he had expressed for his Enlargement. The Pope, finding the Marquis prepossessed with the Sense of so great an Obligation, found it no difficult Matter to oblige him to renounce his former Alliances, particularly that at *Cambray*, and to enter into a new one with him and the Republick of *Venice*.

The Pope declares War again.

Upon this Event, *Julius* declined treating further with *Lewis* the XIIth, and, as his own and the *Venetian* Army were again got into the Field, he now talked of nothing but putting himself at the Head of those Troops; and, as some say, he openly declared, *That,*

as

as the Keys of St. Peter had not availed him, he would make use of the Sword of St. Paul: Upon which a Latin Epigram was made by Gilbertus Dufteris, which runs thus in English,

*Fame says, Pope Julius once the Sword did wield,
And, to engage the French, he took the Field.
Fierce into Tyber's Stream the Keys he threw,
Exclaiming loudly as his Sword he drew:
Since, in my Aid, thy Keys, O Peter! fail,
Thy Sword, O Paul! in Battle may avail.*

About the Beginning of October he set out from Rome, designing to lay Siege to Ferrara. This Enterprize was far from promising Success; yet the Venetians, in order to flatter the Pride and Arrogancy of the Pope, seemed to be eager for the Siege, though they were satisfied there was no likelihood of succeeding in it, because the Season was too far advanced, and for that Chaumont had thrown a Reinforcement into the Place.

At last Julius himself was convinced of his Error; however, he thought it would look silly to command his Army and undertake nothing, which put him upon ordering his Generals to give Chaumont Battle; but those Officers knew better, instead of fighting they represented to him the great Odds there were between his Troops and those of Chaumont; and in the End, after all his Holiness's Noise, both he and his Generals were glad to march off under Pretence of protecting Modena, which they accordingly did, well knowing that Place would also be a Protection to them. In the mean time the Venetian Forces retired into their own Territories, but promised at parting, they would be ready to march to his Holiness's Assistance at all times.

He proposes to besiege Ferrara.

But marches off to Modena.

The *Venetian* Affairs were not more prosperous at this Time than those of the Pope; they had sent a Fleet into the *Adige*, with Design to give a Diverſion by pillaging the *Ferrareſe* on the left Side of the *Po*; another Fleet they had in the *Po*, which was to attempt joining that in the *Adige* at *Adria*; but the Water of a Canal, through which they muſt paſs, from one River to the other, was ſo low, that the Duke of *Ferrara*, having Notice of the Condition that they were in, came upon them in this Juncture with his formidable Train of Artillery, and deſtroyed that Fleet, as he had another ſome time before, which had advanced up the *Po* as far as *Ferrara*. Thus all the Pope's Schemes were for the preſent defeated, which cauſed him to quit his Army, and retire to *Bologna* with his whole Court.

*Lewis the XIIth
aſſembles his
Clergy.*

As to *Lewis* the XIIth, he found ſcarce any Hopes of prevailing on the Pope to come to reaſonable Terms with him, which induced him to aſſemble the Clergy of his Kingdom at *Tours*, where he deſired to know the Opinion of that pious and wiſe Body, “Whether he could in Conſcience, in aſſerting his juſt Rights, avenge himſelf on *Julius*, for his Breach of Faith and Treaties? and how far he ought to regard the Spiritual Arms of the Church in the Hands of the Aggreſſor, who made no other uſe of them, than to ſupport Injuſtice, in Matters purely Temporal? Whether he might not, in order to keep the War out of his own Dominions, take Poſſeſſion of a Place, which the Pope had wreſted from its lawful Sovereigns, who had been in quiet Poſſeſſion of it, by Right of Preſcription, for above 100 Years without Interruption? Theſe were the *Benrivogli*, whom *Julius* the II^d had drove out of *Bologna*.”

*Their An-
ſwer.*

The Opinion the *Gallican* Church gave was this, “That the King might, without the
“leaſt

“ least Scruple, maintain his Quarrel with the Court
 “ of *Rome*, and even act offensively against his Ho-
 “ linefs as an Enemy. That, Religion being no ways
 “ concerned in the Quarrel, the Pope ought not
 “ to ufe his fpiritual Arms. That, if his Holinefs
 “ did not recal the Cenfures he had already un-
 “ warrantably thundred out, or if afterwards he should
 “ iffue out any other, the Party injured might with-
 “ draw its Obedience from him, and make Appli-
 “ cation to whom it belonged, by calling a gene-
 “ ral Council: And, finally, advifed his Majefty to
 “ join with the Emperor, in order to ftrengthen him
 “ to take Satisfaction of his Holinefs.”

Whilst this Affembly was fitting *Matthew Long*,
 Bifhop of *Gurck*, who was *Maximilian's* chief Mi-
 nifter, arrived at *Tours*, and foon after attended the
 King at *Blois*, where it was agreed that a General
 Council fhould be forthwith held; and *Varillas* tells
 us, that a Treaty was then concluded between the
 Emperor and the King of *France*, which aimed at
 no lefs than deposing *Julius* the II^d, and continuing
 the League of *Cambray*. *Mariana* is pofitive, that
 the principal Drift of *Maximilian's* uniting fo clofely
 with *Lewis*, in calling a general Council, &c. was
 that of stepping into the Papal Chair, and, by fo
 doing, to obtain the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, in
 Imitation of the old *Roman* Emperors.

William Ockbam, an *Englifh* Writer, many Years
 before *Maximilian's* Time, advanced fome Propofi-
 tions, in Relation to the Claims of former Empe-
 rors, that very much favoured this Prince's Emula-
 tion; from whence perhaps *Maximilian* might have
 imbibed the Notion of joining the *Spiritual* Power
 to the *Temporal*, in Contradiction to *Julius*, who
 laboured fo much to join the *Temporal* to the *Spi-
 ritual*.

No fooner was it known in *Italy*, Five Cardinals de-
 fect the Pope.
 that the Calling a general Council

was resolved on, but five Cardinals, who were highly dissatisfied with *Julius's* Actions, deserted him, and retired to *Milan*, fully resolved to oppose his lucrative Measures.

In the mean time the Pope rested himself contented at *Bologna*, without seeming to be much disturbed at the Measures his Enemies were taking against him, and, notwithstanding all the Designs they were laying to humble him, abated nothing of his Arrogance; but writ to the five Cardinals in the Strain of a highly provoked Master, who was sure of revenging himself on his undutiful Servants; and changed the Monitory, he had published against the

The Pope excommunicates the Duke of Ferrara, &c.

Duke of *Ferrara*, into an Excommunication, comprehending the Auxiliary French Troops, and particularly *Chaumont*, the French General, if he did not forthwith order them back into the *Milanese*: But *Chaumont* was not to be frightened with an Excommunication so ill grounded.

But, to proceed, after *Chaumont* had relieved *Verona*, he marched his Army (which was considerably reinforced) to *Modena*, and in his Way came up with the Pope's Troops, some of whom fell into his Hands, but the far greater Part of them found Means to throw themselves into *Modena*; so that *Chaumont* did not think fit to besiege that Place, but was rather at a stand which way to proceed. The *Bentivogli*, who were in the French Camp with all their Friends, took this Opportunity to propose a very extraordinary Enterprize to *Chaumont*, that of going to attack *Bologna*, where *Julius*, who had kindled this War, was shut up, with a numerous Court, but a very weak Garrison.

And approaches Bologna.

Chaumont approved of the Proposal, and marched upon this Expedition, and encamped at *Crespolano*, on which

Bologna

Bologna was struck with the greatest Consternation, the *French* being then but ten Miles from it.

Julius's Courtiers, on this Approach, were struck with the utmost Consternation; and his Officers, notwithstanding their habitual Diffimulation, could no longer forbear betraying their Fear; one Part of them seemed to be struck dumb, whilst the other were busy in making their Wills.

Upon this, the Cardinals represented to his Holiness the Danger he was in, and that there was no way now left to get out of that Place, but by a speedy Accommodation with the *French*. At first he disregarded their Advice; for, instead of following it, he sent after the *Venetian* Army to hasten to his Assistance, and, because they did not come so soon as he expected, he fell a storming at the *Venetian* Ambassador, which availed him but little; notwithstanding that, the nearer the Enemy drew to the City, the more *Julius's* Rage encreased; but, when he saw Parties of the *French* advance so far as to kill the Centinels in the very Gates of *Bologna*, he was so frightened, that he thought it best to seem to yield to the Cardinals Advice of treating with *Cbaumont*; which Feint saved the City, for *Cbaumont*, instead of pursuing his Advantage, suffered himself to be amused by the Pretence of a Treaty, and lost a whole Day, which, if he had properly made use of, he might have taken the Town, his Holiness, and all his Courtiers in it; and thereby have prevented all those Evils that afterwards ensued to his Master from this War. Some say, this Piece of Finesse was owing to Archbishop *Baynbridge*, the *English* Ambassador, who, seeing the Pope in great Distress, repaired to *Cbaumont's* Camp, and represented to him, that the Pope was ready to give his Master all the Satisfaction he could desire; and therefore, if he advanced further, a Rupture would certainly ensue

*And grants the
Pope a Cessation
of Arms.*

sue between *England* and *France*; and his blustering Way of delivering this Representation so terrified *Chaumont*, that he was in great Perplexity, and induced to consent to treat with the Pope, and grant him a Cessation of Arms for two Days, in hopes, during that Time, to conclude a Treaty with him: But this was far from answering the End proposed by *Chaumont*, for in this Time the Pope sent away his most valuable Effects into *Tuscany*, and Courier after Courier to hasten the March of the *Venetian* Forces. In short, our Pontiff obtained what he desired by the

Cessation of Arms; and, to crown all, the Evening before it expired, the Van of the *Venetian* Army entered *Bologna*, and the Inhabitants, who before were

*The Venetian
Army enters
Bologna.*

disposed to follow Fortune, took Arms in Favour of the Pope. When the Time given *Julius* was expired, *Chaumont* drew his Forces nearer to *Bologna*, thinking that his Presence would make the Pope sign the Treaty; but, as the Succours were arrived, his Ho-

*Chaumont re-
treats with
Shame.*

lines threw off the Mask, and refused to treat any longer. Then it was *Chaumont* saw, not without great Confusion, that his Design was frustrated, and he obliged to retreat, which accordingly he did; and this he got by being amused with * *Treating* instead of *Fighting*, especially with Enemies that as far exceeded him at Intrigues, as he did them in warlike Exploits.

*His Ex-
cuse for
it.*

All *Chaumont* had now to do, was to colour his Retreat with some plausible Pretext, which he endeavoured to do under Pretence of the great Respect he had for the Representation that had been made to him by the *English* and other Ambassadors, against his advancing to *Bologna*; and that, as it was the Month of *December*, he thought it proper to end the Campaign, which caused him

* A Practice much in Vogue of late Years.

him to disband his Infantry according to the then Custom, and retired to *Milan*.

His Holiness now talked of nothing but Battles and Sieges, and immediately sent Orders to his General, having been reinforced with a considerable Body, to withdraw his Army out of *Modena*, and march to attack *Concorda*, which he obeyed, and the Town yielded upon the first Summons.

The Pope's Forces take Concorda,

From *Concorda* the General marched his Army to *Mirandola*, into which the French

And Mirandola.

had precipitately thrown some Infantry. It was now about the latter end of *December*, and the Season proved more severe than ordinary : However that did not deter valiant *Julius* from ordering his General to forbear besieging the Place, who had refused to surrender ; on the contrary the Siege was formed, but it went on so slowly, that the Pope was highly dissatisfied with his General's Conduct, and resolved to go and command his Army in Person ; being got to his Camp he took up his Quarters under the Cannon of *Mirandola*, without the least Regard to his Age or Dignity, even exercising not only all the Offices of a chief General, but even those of a Soldier ; he was on the Batteries Night and Day for a good while ; but at last was forced, by the Rigour of the Season, to retire to *Concorda*, tho' very uneasy, when he heard the Town made still an obstinate Defence. This put him again on returning to his Army ; and, tho' the Snow covered the Roads, and made it very difficult to pass, he found Means to get to the Siege, and took up his Quarters in a little Church near the Walls of the Town : Still nothing was done soon enough, he was always calling in a Fury to the Captains upon Duty ; nor had he any Regard to the horrible Coldness of the Weather. Here several of his Servants being killed by the Cannon of the City, he thought it adviseable to remove from thence to a Place further

ther off; and, notwithstanding his utmost Efforts, the Siege went on but heavily: For *Alexander Trivulca*, (Nephew to the Marechal of that Name) the Governor, tho' his Garrison consisted of no more than 400 Men, defended the City with incredible Resolution and Bravery, in hopes of soon seeing *Chaumont* come to his Relief; but he was disappointed, tho' *Chaumont*, upon receiving the News of this Siege, came to *Rubiera*, in order to reassemble his Army, but, before it could be effected, there was a Breach made in the Place, and the Ice in the Ditch being strong enough to bear over the Besiegers, there was no occasion for filling it up to make the Assault; upon which the Garrison, the 20th of *January*, capitulated, on being allowed to march out, leaving all the Officers Prisoners of War; and the Pope entered the Breach in a triumphant Manner, displaying all the Ostentation and Pomp that a young General could have done: And thus winds up the Year 1510, as to the Affairs of *Italy*.

Affairs of
Spain.
1510.

King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, whilst Affairs were thus transacting in *Italy*, seemed very intent in making great Preparations to pass with his Army over to *Africa*, as he had given out; but when they were ready to embark, he excused himself from proceeding in that Expedition, under Pretence that other Affairs of very great Consequence required his Presence at home; still to shew the World his Zeal for Religion was no way abated, he caused a large Body of Forces under the Command of the famous *Peter Navarro*, to be transported into *Africa*, which landed at *Bugia* on the 5th of *March*, and took the Place by Assault; then marched up the Country, with an Army of 15,000 Men, where he defeated a large Body of *Moor*s; but the *Spaniards*, having proceeded too far, were attacked in the Island of *Gelves*, where they lost between two and three thousand Men; and had the Infidels pursued the





N. Parr Sculp

the Advantage they had obtained, in all Probability, few or none had escaped : In short, those that remained of *Navarro's* shattered Troops were glad, with their General, to get safe into *Spain*. This great Disappointment soon made crafty *Ferdinand* tired of *Moorish* Expeditions, tho' he pretended still, that he had nothing more at heart than making Conquests in that Part of the World, for the Glory of God and the Good of the Church, continuing to give out, that he would shortly go over to *Africa* and command his Army against the Infidels in Person : How far he kept his Word, and the Dupe he made of our Prince on that Head, the Sequel will shew.

Now, to return Home, his Majesty concluded the last Year with giving Direction for calling his Parliament ; and, on the 21st of *January*, they met, when the Commons proceeded by the King's Direction to chuse a Speaker,* and Sir *Thomas Ingleby* was pitched upon, who, being presented to the King, was approved of. Sir *Tho-*

*Proceedings of the
first Parliament
of Henry the
VIIIth, 1510.*

VOL. II.

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* The Commons upon a new Election repair to their House at the Day appointed, where each Member is called on to answer to his Name, and for the Place he represents : That done, they attend the King in the House of Lords, the Cause of Summons being declared by the King or Chancellor, the Lord Chancellor confers first with his Majesty, then in his Name commands the Commons to assemble in their House, and chuse their Speaker ; upon which the Commons immediately repair thither, and one of the Members, putting the rest in mind of what they were charged with, recommends a Speaker unto them, and desires

their Opinions to be signified accordingly. When the Speaker is chosen, he modestly shewing what Abilities are required in a Speaker, and that there were divers among them well furnished with such Qualities, prays them to proceed to the Choice of another in his Place, which is commonly answered with a full Consent of Voices upon his Name. Then two of the Members conduct him from his Place to the Chair, where, sitting a while, he arises, uncovers, and prays, that he may be permitted to disable himself to the King ; that being denied, he, with humble Thanks, promises his willing Endeavours to do them Service. After which

one

has made the usual Protestation for himself, and prayed, that, if any of the Commons should, in debating Matters, speak more largely than they ought, they might be pardoned by the King, which was granted.

The Commons being returned to their House, the first Business that came before them was general Complaints against Sir *Richard Empson*, Knt. and *Edmund Dudley*, Esq; under Sentence of Death in the Tower, respecting their vile and merciless Treatment of the Subjects in general in the late Reign, (as before taken Notice of) which Complaints being fully made out, they drew up a Representation thereon, and the Speaker, at the Head of the House of Commons, presented it to the King.

His Majesty received the House very graciously, and answered them in general, That he was ready, on his Part, to pass such a Law as should be proposed by the Commons, to prevent the like Incon-

venience of the Members puts the House in mind of the Day to present him, &c.

The Day appointed being come, they go up to the House of Lords, where his Majesty, sitting on his Royal Throne, and the Lords in their Robes, the Commons are called in, and the Speaker is ushered in between two of them, and with low Obedience presented at the Bar to his Majesty.

The Speaker having made his Excuse, the Chancellor confers with the King, and then replies, *That his Majesty doth approve of the Choice the Commons had made, and will not allow of his Excuse.* Then the Speaker proceeds to make a Speech on Behalf of the Commons, for all their antient Privileges in general, and for

some particularly. When the Speaker returns from attending the King, the Mace is carried before him (and not till then) to the House, and he assumes the Chair, the Clerks sitting before him, in lower Seats, who read Bills, Petitions, &c. and the Speaker, when a Bill is read, briefly opens the Purport of it, and puts the Question, &c.

The Speaker is said to be not only the Mouth but the Eyes and Ears of the House, and hence it was, when King *Charles the Ist* commanded the Speaker on his Allegiance to discover certain Transactions, &c. in Parliament, he justly replied, *That he had neither Eyes to see, Ears to hear, nor Mouth to speak, but as the House directed him.*

niences for Time to come, upon which an Act passed accordingly.

The Parliament in this Session passed the following Acts,* all which were extremely well received by the Nation in general; after they had so done, and dispatched such *other important* Affairs that lay before them, they broke up.

The young King was now entered into the 19th Year of his Age, and discovered a Spirit equal to his Birth, entertaining Thoughts of regaining what his Predecessors had lost during the Domestick Contentts between the *White and Red Roses*, or Houses of *Tork and Lancaster*, centered in him; but, it not being a proper Time to take Arms, he for the present diverted himself by making a Progress into different

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* I. To lay a Penalty upon such Merchants as should enter Goods in their own Names, when the same belonged to Foreigners, and thereby defraud the King of his Duty; and to lay a Penalty on such Citizens of *London*, &c. being free of *Prisage* or *Butlarage* of Wines, in case they Custom any Person's Wines, in their own Name, that has not the like Privilege.

II. That no Fee be paid to the Coroner, where a Person is killed by a Misadventure; and in case the Coroner takes any such Fee, he is to forfeit 40*s*.

III. To declare the several Duties of an Escheator and Commissioner, in respect to finding of Offices; and what Estate in Land such Escheator and Commissioner shall have, before he be permitted to sit: Also to lay the Jurors, returned to find any Office, under different Penalties in

case they offend against this Law; which directs where they are to return their Proceedings.

IV. To direct the letting of Land, seized into the King's Hand, upon an Inquest, and that it shall be set to farm to him that tendereth a Traverse to the same within three Months.

V. Untrue Inquisitions found in the Reign of *Henry the VIIIth*, by the Procurement of *Empson* and *Dudley*, may be traversed by the Party, though the same Persons have sued their Livery, yet their Livery shall be no Conclusion.

VI. To attain Sir *Richard Empson*, Knt. and *Edmund Dudley*, Esq; of High-treason.

VII. That all Forfeitures upon Penal Laws should be prosecuted for within three Years from the Time of the Offence committed, or that the same should not then after be allowed of.

ferent Parts of his Kingdom *: And, as he passed on, his Majesty heard repeated Complaints against *Empson* and *Dudley*, which induced the King to send an Order for their Execution, which was done by Beheading them, on the 17th of *August*, on *Tower-Hill*.

As the Names of *Empson* and *Dudley* will be odious to all Posterity, as long as Liberty and Property are valuable, its to be wished that their End and Fall may be as *Beacons*, not only to the present but future Times, to warn others from pursuing their Course, lest they split on the same Rock: And, if there be such Men now in *Great Britain*, we heartily desire their Crimes may be discovered, and they prosecuted and punished, so that their Names may be exposed to the like hateful Remembrance.

The King next remitted several Fines due to him from his Subjects, which gained him more and more the Good-will of his People.

We hope it will not be unpardonable, if we introduce the learned Dr. *Echard's* Picture of the young King, whose singular Description, and the Language, we shall leave the Reader to judge of. After speaking of the End of *Empson* and *Dudley*, the Doctor proceeds,—
 “ That *Henry* the VIIIth acted therein more like a good
 “ King than a good Master: However by this, and
 “ his remitting of several Fines, he gained the Love
 “ and Affection of the Nation at this Time, and was
 “ in perfect Peace and Safety with his People. This
 “ gave him an Opportunity to follow those Liber-
 “ ties and Pleasures which were most suitable to his
 “ youthful and vigorous Disposition; for though he
 “ used

* A Practice highly to be commended, though not followed by many of our late Princes: For what can tend more to ingratiate a King with his People than the frequently seeing his gracious

Countenance, feeling the good Effect of his Royal Visits and Beneficence, and experiencing his Readiness not only to hear their Complaints, but to redress their Grievances?

“ used Feastings, Masks, Dancing, Singing, Playing
 “ upon many Instruments, making Verses and the
 “ like, yet his more serious Entertainments were the
 “ Study of History and School-divinity, in which
 “ he much delighted, as likewise Jufts, Tourneys and
 “ Barriers, and that not in an ordinary Manner but
 “ with the Two-handed Sword and Battle-Axe; these
 “ again, were adorned and set out with most costly
 “ Pageants and magnificent Devices, and these so
 “ frequently, that they did not only consume much
 “ Time, but also great Part of his Treasure, and in-
 “ deed, never any King delighted more in Pomp and
 “ Shew; his Court was marshalled like a Camp, and
 “ his Camp set out like a Court; so that *Mars* and
 “ *Venus* seemed to be in Conjunction all this Reign,
 “ and Love and Honour as fashionable as in the Ro-
 “ mance of those Times, nor needed he any thing
 “ besides his own Example to draw the young No-
 “ bility after him, who was now no less considerable
 “ for their Number *than their Quality*, so that all the
 “ *Neighbouring Nations* were both sensible and ap-
 “ prehensive of his growing Greatness.”

For this Reason *Lewis* the XIIth thought it his Interest to keep in with the King of *England*, and ordered his Ambassador, at our Court, to renew the Treaty of *Estaples*, between *Henry* the VIIth and *Charles* the VIIIth, which Minister pursued his Instructions so closely, that a new Treaty was agreed upon between *France* and *England*, bearing Date the 23d of *March*, 1510.

*The Kings of Eng-
 land and France
 sign a Treaty.*

The Substance of which Treaty was, “ That the
 “ Peace between the two Kings should last to the first
 “ Demise of either of them; that it should be con-
 “ firmed by the States-General of *France* and the Par-
 “ liament of *England*; that each of these Princes
 “ should take care to obtain the Pope’s Approbation,
 “ with a previous Sentence of Excommunication a-

gainst



“ gainst the first Violater. *Lewis*, by Letters Patents,
 “ promised to pay the Arrears of the 670,000 Crowns,
 “ secured to the Crown of *England* by the Treaty of
 “ *Estaples*, at 25,000 Livres every six Months, till the
 “ whole should be discharged.” After which the
 Peace was ratified and sworn to by both Kings.

Lewis now apprehended, as he had happily renewed
 the Alliance that was subsisting at *Henry* the VIIIth’s
 Death, he had nothing to fear from *England*, which
 induced him to pursue more than ever his Affairs in
Italy.

*The Pope courts
 the King’s Fa-
 vour.*

In the mean time *Julius* the II^d left
 no Stone unturned to engage *Henry* the
 VIIIth to his Interest, shewing more
 than ordinary Respect to Dr. *Baynbridge*
 at his Court, and, as it was an antient Custom, for
 the *Roman* Pontiffs, upon the Accession of a King
 to the Throne of his Ancestors, to send him some
 Marks of their fatherly Affection, his Holiness sent
 the King a Golden Rose, which was delivered to
 Archbishop *Warham*, accompanied with a Letter, the
 Substance of which here follows :

*Pope Julius the II^d to his venerable Brother,
 William, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Venerable Brother,

“ **W**E salute you, and send you our Apostolical
 “ Benediction.

“ Resolving with ourselves, that our most Eminent
 “ Son in Christ, *Henry*, the most Illustrious King of
 “ *England*, for whom We have a very peculiar Re-
 “ gard, should receive from us some honorary Aposto-
 “ lical Present, in this Beginning of his Reign, We
 “ now send him the Golden Rose, anointed with
 “ the Holy Chrism, sprinkled with odoriferous Musk,
 “ and blessed with our Hands, after the Manner of
 “ the

“ the *Roman* Pontiffs, which we would have you,
 “ Brother, to give him, with our Apostolical Bene-
 “ diction, during the Solemnity of the Mass, (by you
 “ to be celebrated) you using the Ceremonies for
 “ this Purpose contained in the Schedule annexed
 “ to it.

“ Given at *Rome* the 5th of *April*, 1510, in the
 “ Seventh Year of our Pontificate.

“ SIGISMUNDUS.”

The Archbishop obeyed his Holiness's Injunction, and delivered the Golden Rose to his Majesty, after celebrating high Mass, with the Ceremonies usual on such Occasions. This Present was so well received by our young Prince, that *Baynbridge* had Orders to assure the Pope, the King his Master was disposed to protect his Holiness against all his Enemies; which was no sooner known to his Father-in-law, old *Ferdinand of Spain*, than he began his old Game of serving himself, under Pretence of his readiness to assist his Son-in-law in any Enterprize he should undertake, particularly that of recovering the Countries from *France*, that had been taken from his Ancestors; but desired, that the Measures which he intended to take should be kept private, in order to attack *Lewis* the more unexpectedly: And, to compleat his Purpose, on the 6th of *January*, 1510, he commissioned his Ambassador at *London* to treat with *Henry* about a stricter Alliance than at present subsisted between *England* and *Spain*. Accordingly, a defensive Treaty was concluded on the 24th of *May*, with Promise of mutually aiding each other upon Occasion. It seems very odd indeed, that *Henry* should enter into such a Treaty with *Spain*, before even that with *France* was put in Execution; but it may be observed, that both Treaties were concluded by the Advice of *Henry's* Ministers,

The King of Spain's Pretences.

Concludes a Treaty with Henry the VIIIth.

nisters, which he constituted of his Council upon his Accession to the Throne, and without the Assistance of *Wolsey*: And *Rapin* says, “ Never Prince committed “ grosser Faults, or was more imposed upon than “ himself, especially in the first Year of his Reign.” But we shall presently see, when *Wolsey* came to be Archbishop of *York*, and established in the Ministry, that no such gross Errors were committed, and that he never led his Master into any dishonourable Treaty, or acted in any manner that rendered *England* contemptible Abroad.

For, agreeable to Monsieur *Rapin*’s Words, (“ That, “ whilst *Henry* was wholly addicted to his Pleasures, “ there was a Person gradually rising at Court, who “ was one Day to have an absolute Power over him, “ and to manage all his Affairs, as well Foreign as “ Domestick. I mean *Thomas Wolsey*.”) before the End of *November* his Majesty was pleased further to distinguish his Almoner, by making him one of his Privy Council, and soon after electing him his Reporter of the Proceedings in the Star-chamber; which last Preferment soon gave him a considerable Weight at Court, and brings us to the Conclusion of the Year 1510.

Affairs of WE left the Pope entering the Town
Italy. of *Mirandola* in great State, from thence
1511. he soon after returned to *Rome*, leaving his
Nephew the Duke of *Urbino* Commander
of his Forces; yet he saw with the utmost Concern, that his further Designs must miscarry, as long as the Emperor and the King of *France* were so closely united; therefore he spent some Days in consulting with his Friends, in order to find out an Expedient to dissolve so formidable an Union; and, knowing that *Ferdinand* of *Spain* would be a proper Instrument for that End, his Holiness began to shew that Prince’s Ambassador at his Court more than ordinary Civility, and

and promised to gratify his Master in what he could reasonably desire, in Case he assisted him in breaking the Union between *Maximilian* and *Lewis*: Accordingly the Ambassador was soon after directed to let his Holiness know, that nothing should be wanting to content him, and that his Master had ordered part of his Forces in *Italy* to join *Julius's* Army, in order to accomplish his Purpose; and all of a sudden the *Spanish* Minister was consulted by the Pope in his most important Affairs. Upon this great Intimacy the Ambassador advised *Julius*, as *Modena* was very ill provided to sustain a Siege, and would, probably, if care was not taken, fall into the Hands of the *French* at the opening of the Campaign; to prevent which, the best Way he thought was to put the City into the Hands of the Emperor; for this, he conjectured, would please *Maximilian*, and that he would return it to him again for the sake of Money was not to be doubted; whose Advice the Pope followed, and the Event answered what was proposed.

His Holiness, in Return for the Zeal that *Ferdinand* now expressed for his Service, granted him the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which before he had refused.

Julius grants Ferdinand the Investiture of Naples.

However, the King of *Spain* still thought it adviseable to hold with both Parties, by having Troops in each Army; for the Quarrels between his Neighbours was what he fomented with the utmost Industry, believing he should thereby make his Friendship more considerable; and he took care to make those to whom he measured it pay dear enough for the Favour.

The Season for Action advancing, *Cbaumont*, in the Month of *February*, drew his Forces together and took the Field, designing first to possess himself of the City of *Modena*; but when he came there he found the Emperor's Standard placed upon the Walls, which induced him to forbear committing Hostilities

against the Place, and soon after he retired to *Corregio*.

Here he fell sick, owing, as it was said, to Vexation, in having been so ca-
 joled out of his Attempt upon *Bologna*,
 and on hearing his Conduct was con-
 demned at the Court of *France*. Tho' this Over-
 sight of his had lost neither Army nor Province from
 his Master, yet the settled Grief that preyed upon
 his Spirits became so violent, that he paid the last
 Debt to Nature in the Month of *March*, being but
 38 Years of Age. This gallant Man was a good
 General, and no ways unworthy of the great Offices
 he bore ; and, notwithstanding the Slip or two that he
 made, was a faithful, skilful, and brave Officer.*

Upon *Chaumont's* Death, Marshal *Tri-
 vulca* was constituted General in his Stead,
 and was directed to go in quest of his
 Holiness's and the *Venetian* Armies, who were now
 busy in besieging of *la Bastia* in the *Ferrarese*. This
 General lost no time, but put his Orders so quickly
 in Execution, that he came up time enough to re-
 lieve the Place ; and, what was more, the Besiegers
 quitted their Post with so much Precipitation, that
 they chose to leave their Artillery and Ammunition a
 Prize to the *French*, rather than fight for the preserv-
 ing them, and retired to *Buendeno*. *Trivulca*, having
 carried this Point, marched on and encamped at *Stel-
 lata* ; where he received Intelligence, that *Leonard de
 Prato*,

* It's true, this well-meaning
 General was unhappily led into
 a *Cessation of Arms*, that lost him
 almost immortal Honour, and his
 Master inexpressible Advantages,
 which might have prevented the
 many Disasters he afterwards fell
 into : But by whom ? A *designing
 Pope*, abounding with *fair Pro-
 mises* ; and a *politick English Bishop*,
 replete with them as well as

Threats : And who would not
 at that Time have been deceived
 by such a Principal and such an
 Agent ? What Views had ho-
 nest *Chaumont* ? An *advantageous
 Peace* with an Enemy, and *Fear
 of a Rupture* with a Friend. On
 whom would not, have not, will
 not, ought not these prevail ? We
 wish their Harms may make the
 present Powers at War beware.

Prato, a Knight of *Rhodes*, the most celebrated Officer in the *Venetian* Service, lay in Ambush, with 150 Troopers, near *Mirandola*, to surprize some of his Parties.

The Duke of *Nemours*, his Majesty's Nephew, (a young Prince who knew both how to command, and how to obey) was then in *Trivulca's* Army, and pitched upon to command a Party, with Instructions to go in quest and engage this celebrated Commander, and the Soldiers no sooner observed this hopeful young Prince at their Head, than they shewed a more than common degree of Courage.

The Duke executed his Orders so well, that *Prato's* Party was entirely defeated, and himself killed in the Action, (to the great Grief of the *Venetians*) for whom the Senate erected a most magnificent Monument at *Venice*, in all likelihood, by the Honour they did his Memory, to excite the Fidelity and Valour of the Officers in the Service of *St. Mark*.

Duke of Nemours defeats Prato's Party.

In the mean time *Trivulca* miscarried in the Scheme he had laid, of beating up the Quarters of the main Body of the Pope's Troops at *Buendeno*, who had the Duke of *Urbino* at their Head. This put his Holiness's Forces into a little Heart; so that they, with the Assistance of the *Venetians*, thought of making a second Attempt upon *la Bastia*; but the Duke of *Ferrara's* Fleet soon defeated that Project, for his gave Battle to that of *Venice*, (going up the *Po* to favour the Siege) and beat them; wherein the *Venetians* lost no less than 45 Vessels, and the Remainder were forced to put into a Harbour near *Ravenna*, where the Pope had the Mortification to see them enter, which put an End to his Design upon *la Bastia*. Notwithstanding this Disappointment, his Holiness, about the latter End of *March*, made a Promotion of Cardinals at *Ravenna*, in which Archbishop *Baynbridge* was

Archbishop Baynbridge made a Cardinal.

included, and the Hat was delivered to him with the usual Ceremonies. As to the Armies, that which soon after followed put a stop, for the present, to their further Progress.

The Bishop of *Gurck*, having fully executed his Commission with the King of *France*, returned to the Emperor's Court, where he was received with great Distinction: At first *Maximilian* was very earnest to have the Treaty, that Prelate had concluded with the *French* Court, immediately put in Execution, and for that End gave Directions for calling an Assembly of the Bishops of his Hereditary Countries, in order to dispose them to meet at the ensuing general Council; but his usual Inconstancy, and the natural Aversion he bore to *France*, still being uppermost, made him of a sudden change his Mind, and countermand the Meeting of his Bishops, being also willing to know first what should be proposed to him by the King of *Spain*, who was now labouring, in Conjunction with the *Pope*, to set *Lewis* and the Emperor at Variance, which they thought to effect,

under Pretence of holding a Congress at *Mantua*, to compose the Differences that had arisen in *Italy*. To cover this Design the King of *Spain* ordered his Ambassador,

as if the Proposal came from himself, publickly to speak of it to the *Pope*, who seemed readily to accept of it; then he sent the like Proposal to the Emperor, accompanied with a long Representation, wherein he set forth, "That he (the Emperor) was going to engage himself in Affairs very doubtful: "That if the Calling a General Council should succeed, it might stretch it's Authority further than was convenient for the Emperor: That the Emperors were in Possession of the first *bumble Requests*, as they call them, in the Churches of *Germany*, and of such Prerogatives, in the Election of Bishops, as put vacant Sees in their Disposal;

“ and of many other Rights very important to the
 “ Imperial Crown, but burthensome to the *German*
 “ Clergy : That this Council, being owned and sub-
 “ mitted to by all the Faithful, would probably abolish
 “ those Rights, the actual Exercise of which gave
 “ him the most solid Title : That his Imperial Ma-
 “ jesty’s most essential Interest was, to oblige the
 “ *Venetians* to give him due Satisfaction : That he
 “ would himself undertake to procure that, without
 “ any Danger or Difficulty to *Maximilian* : That, if
 “ the Emperor would send a Minister to *Mantua*,
 “ he would undertake, that *Julius* should do the
 “ same ; and that the Pope should spare no Pains,
 “ to oblige the sullen *Venetians* to give the Empe-
 “ ror such Satisfaction as might put an End to all
 “ Differences, his Holiness’s Influence over them
 “ being that of their *Protector* : That by this Means
 “ the Emperor might enter into Possession of the Do-
 “ minions allotted him by the League of *Cambray*,
 “ without the dubious Assistance of the King of
 “ *France*, or making that dangerous Attempt of call-
 “ ing a General Council.”

Maximilian was highly pleased with
 these Representations, and immediate- *Bishop of Gurck*
 ly resolved not only to send the Bishop *sent to Mantua.*
 of *Gurck* to *Mantua*, in Quality of his Plenipoten-
 tiary, but to stop all his other Projects against the
 Pope, till the Issue of this Congress was known, upon
 Condition his Holiness superceded all Proceedings a-
 gainst the malecontent Cardinals, and forbore harrassing
 the Duke of *Ferrara*, leaving all other Matters in
 Dispute to be settled at *Mantua*.

Julius, seemingly with great Joy, agreed to what
 the Emperor proposed, not so much out of Regard
 to the Quiet of *Italy*, as in Hopes, by this Finesse, to
 engage *Maximilian* to his Interest, and prevail on him
 to break with *France*, by rendering *Lewis* the XIIth’s
 Assistance useless to him.

The Emperor, having thus taken this sudden Resolution, communicated it to the King of *France*, representing, “ That, in order to render the Pope intirely inexcusable, another Offer should be made to him, after which, in Case he refused to comply, they should not think themselves obliged to observe any Measures with him.” And further assured the King, “ That he would make no Treaty with *Julius*, unless he would give all due Satisfaction to *France* ;” and therefore intreated him to send a Minister forthwith to the Congress, to be held at *Mantua*. *Ferdinand* also wrote to the King of *France* on the same Head, and insinuated “ That nothing could be more worthy a *most Christian King*, than to forego some of his Rights, by consenting to a Peace with the Pope, and thereby wipe the Tears from his Holiness’s Eyes.

Lewis finding so good an Understanding between *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, *Lewis* alarmed. was not a little surpris’d, and the more so, because *Maximilian* had lately given *Lewis* just Grounds of Distrust by the following Transactions : The *Swiss*, being Enemies to the most Christian King, had already committed Hostilities against him, without making a Declaration of War. *Maximilian* (who till then had looked upon them as a Parcel of Country Fellows that had revolted from him, and murdered his Father-in-law) laid hold on this Juncture to treat with them, and renewed the Agreement, formerly made between *Sigismund* of *Austria* and the Cantons ; in which *Maximilian* consented to grant the *Swiss* free Passage through his Country, a Favour much to the Disadvantage of the *French*, with whom they were at Variance. Yet the King of *France* was unwilling to give *Maximilian* any Pretext for a Rupture with him, which made him consent (as if he did it purely to oblige the Emperor) to send a Minister to *Mantua*. The Person pitched up-

on *was Stephen Bouchier*, Archbishop of *Paris*; the *Venetians* likewise consented to send a Minister to the said Congress; upon which all Parties agreed Hostilities should cease, till the Issue of it was known; and *Lewis* himself, to be near at hand in case any thing should be therein proposed that might require his Approbation, proceeded as far as *Lyons*.

The Bishop of *Gurck* was the first that arrived at *Mantua*, who was soon joined by the Bishop of *Paris* and the other Ministers. The Pope, finding that the Plenipotentiaries were arrived, resolved to make his Advantage of their Condescension, by endeavouring to separate the *German* from the *French* Prelate, and get the former to attend him at *Bologna*, whither he was gone to be also near at hand upon this Occasion. *Jerom de Vich*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, undertook to manage this Matter. First he communicated the Pope's Desire, of having but one Minister to treat with, to the Bishop of *Gurck*, who agreed to it, provided the Bishop of *Paris* consented. *De Vich* was one of that Sort of Ministers, who did not stick to endeavour to persuade every one he had to treat with, that what his Master was doing was purely for their Interest. This cunning Ambassador laid before the Bishop of *Paris*, with great Dexterity and much seeming Affection, how much it would be for the Advantage both of *Maximilian* and *Lewis* to be represented by one Minister, and the more so, if a Prelate was the Person, by Reason of the great Deference Sovereign Princes generally paid them; and assured him, that his Holiness would look on such Compliance as a high Mark of Respect paid him by them all. These Representations answered the End proposed, for the *French* Minister was prevailed upon to consent, that the Bishop of *Gurck* should alone attend the Pope.

The

Bish. of Gurck goes alone to Bologna. The Bishop of *Gurck* set out for *Bologna*, at the Gates of which he was met by all the Pope's Courtiers, who conducted him to the Consistory, before whom, in a formal Speech, he declared "That his Master had chose rather to send him into *Italy* than an Army; not but that he was able to assert his Pretensions by Force of Arms; but that, being a *Christian* Emperor, he chose rather to recover his Right by the milder Way of a Treaty, than by the Violence of a bloody War; insinuating, that the *Venetians* were to expect no Peace from his Master, unless they restored all they detained from the Empire, and the House of *Austria* in particular; and that his Master would not agree to any Treaty with them, unless the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Ferrara* were included in it."

The Ceremonial being over, and the Pope retired out of the Consistory, he named three Commissioners to confer with this Prelate: And the Bishop of *Gurck*, thinking it beneath his Character to treat with any one but his Holiness, also appointed three of his Gentlemen to confer with those the Pope had commissioned. This Behaviour no way pleased the Pope, tho' himself set the Example; but, judging it necessary at this Time to wave Punctillio's, he ordered his Commissioners to proceed.

The Pope, having mostly in View the obtaining a separate Peace between the Emperor and the Republick of *Venice*, the Conferences opened on that Head; but the Bishop of *Gurck's* three Gentlemen carried it as high in their Demands from the *Venetians*, as their Master had done in the Ceremonial with the Pope, and refused to abate one Jot of what the Bishop had insisted upon in his Speech to the Consistory.

Tho' this continued *Julius's* Uneasiness, he assiduously endeavoured to prevail on the Bishop of *Gurck* to

to abate somewhat of his first Demands, but to no purpose.

The *Spanish* Ambassador, when he heard what the Pope insisted upon, seemed to be much disgusted at his Holiness's Designs, which, he pretended, were contrary to the Intention of his Master; and in the mean time, as nothing could be agreed on at this Meeting, the Bishop, without further Ceremony, quitted *Bologna*, as did the other Ministers *Mantua*, as soon as the Result of the Bishop's Conferences were known; and thus ended this *pious* Meeting.

It's remarkable, that, tho' the Pope and the King of *Spain* pretended such high Value for the King of *England*, they dropped Cardinal *Baynbridge*, and neither consulted him in relation to holding the Congress, or desired his Presence therein. A very *grateful* Return, on *Julius's* Part, for his Deliverance at *Bologna*.

The English Ambassador not invited to the Congress.

As the Conference was broke off, *Trivulca* took the Field on the first of *May*, with an Army of 1200 Spear-men, and 17,000 Foot, very impatient, as *Guicciardin* relates, to shew his Master how much he was to blame, for not sending sooner old and experienced Officers to command his Troops, instead of putting that Command into the Hands of unskilful young Men, who had nothing to plead but *Favour*.*

The first Place *Trivulca* met with was *Concorda*, where the Pope's Troops defended themselves so ill, that it was no

Trivulca takes Concorda.

VOL. II.

N

sooner

* Both our *Fleet* and *Army* have, of late Years, not been without some such *Gentlemen*, who have been put over the Heads of those that have merited *Commissions* by long and faithful Services: And even many of our brave Men, on the Decline of Years and Nature, have been pushed out from the Enjoyment of the Comforts, generously provided for them (nay, what they had in part paid for) in our Hospitals, by Wretches that have scarce seen a Campaign, or a Sea-fight: and all truly by the Dint of Mrs. *Favour's* circuitventing *dis-served Merit*.

sooner attacked than taken. From *Concorda*, *Trivulca* marched directly to *Buon-porto*, on the *Panaro*, and encamped there with design to cut off the Provisions the Pope's Army received from *Bologna*, who still kept close in their Post at *Buondeno*, and tho' they were joined with the *Venetian* Forces, they did not care to face *Trivulca*. He next endeavoured to lay a Bridge over the *Panaro*; but, understanding the Enemy had posted themselves on the Banks of the River, he resolved to march his Army up the River to find a more convenient Place to pass it. The Enemy kept Pace with them on the Right, while the *French* were marching upon the Left, insomuch that the *French* were obliged to advance higher than *Modena*, and to enter among the little Hills that lie at the Foot of the *Appennine* Mountains. There are many Fords in the *Panaro* among these Hills, (and the Banks of it thereabouts are very low) over one of which *Trivulca* marched his Army, and encamped within three Miles of the Enemy, for whom he had been too nimble; and they, not having the Assistance of Nature any further, left them in the Possession of the Field, and went and encamped at *Casalechio*.

Trivulca was in great doubt for a time whether he should make an Attempt upon *Bologna*, or take his Rout another Way; but at last he resolved to march on, being attended by the *Bentivogli*. Upon the first Notice of the *French* Army's decamping *Julius* left *Bologna*, with a Design to put himself at the Head of his own and the *Venetian* Troops, thinking that, by his Presence, the Generals would be prevailed on to give the Enemy Battle; but when he considered the Dangers he must needs be exposed to, should he go to the Army, and afterwards find himself involved in the Confusion of a lost Battle, he determined to stop and return to *Bologna*, which Place he entered in great Confusion.

Soon

Soon after he thought of retiring to *Ravenna*, to shelter himself from the impending Storm ; but, before he put this Remove in Execution, he called together the Senate of *Bologna*, and represented to them with all the Earnestness he could then express, “ How much it was for the
 “ Interest of the *Bolognois* to continue
 “ faithful to him, and of what Con-
 “ sequence it was to them not to receive the *Bentivoglio*,
 “ whom they had exasperated, by the Affronts
 “ and Disgrace they had put upon them.” The chief Leader of that Body assured his Holiness of the People’s Fidelity in the extravagant and prolix Stile customary to the *Bolognois*.

*The Pope’s Speech
 to the Senate of
 Bologna.*

On the 14th of *May*, *Julius* quitted *Bologna*, (where he left the Cardinal of *Pavia* in Quality of Legate) with very great Reluctance, and retired to *Ravenna* ; but, by that time the Pope got himself off, the Alarm, that the *French* were in *Bologna*, caused the Streets to ring with, *Long live the Bentivogli ! Long live France !* Tho’ their Army was yet a Day’s March from the Town.

The Cardinal of *Pavia*, seeing this Change, made the best of his way to *Imola* ; and the Soldiers of the Garrison leaped down the Walls of the City to make their Escape, leaving only a handful of the boldest of them shut up in the Citadel.

As soon as the Legate was gone the Senate declared for the *Bentivogli*, who were received with the utmost Joy ; and not a Man of the Pope’s Soldiers could have escaped, had *Trivulca* kept Pace with the *Bentivogli* ; but he was five Miles distant, when he received the News that his Holiness’s Party were fled. However, the Diligence the *French* Army used, and the Disturbance the Light-horse made, that had accompanied the *Bentivogli*, by charging them often in their Retreats, gave *Trivulca* time enough to overtake their Rear,

*They declare for
 the Bentivogli.*

who had left behind them the whole Baggage and Artillery of their Army. This Event happened on the 21st of May,* and the Day following *Trivulca* rested at *Bologna*. The Citadel whereof, erected by *Julius*, soon surrendered, when *Vitroft*, the Emperor's Commissary in *Italy*, warmly demanded, that it should be put into his Hands, being, as he pretended, an Imperial Fief: But the *Bolognois*, fearing there might a Juncture happen, when they should be obliged to give him Satisfaction in this Matter, immediately resolved to raze it to the Ground; and the People, believing they should lay the Foundation of their Liberty upon the Ruin of this Citadel, wrought so hard on the Demolition, that in two Days there was no Appearance of the Spot it stood on.

From *Bologna*, the indefatigable, yet discreet General marched and orderly encamped at *Castel San Pietro*, on the Frontiers of the *Bolognese*, towards the Dominions of the Church, and did not intend to enter those Countries in a hostile manner, till such time as he should receive fresh Orders from the King, those he had before only empowering him to re-establish the *Bentivogli* in *Bologna*, (yet he also disengaged the Duke of *Ferrara* from holy Fetters) according to what had been agreed upon in the Assembly at *Tours*; for which Reason he refused the Keys of *Imola*.

One

* *Julius* having ordered a Statue to be set up in Honour of himself, in the largest Square of the City, the Townsmen, in their Fury, threw it down, and broke it in Pieces. This Statue represented him standing in the Posture and Habit of a Soldier, holding up, however, his Right Hand towards Heaven, as if he were giving his Benediction. The famous *Michael Angelo* was the Sulptor; but, whether owing to the Character of the Hero, or the admirable Workmanship, it imprinted Terror, rather than inspired Devotion in the Spectators. The setting it up gave great Offence to the People of *Bologna*; but when the Pope heard how the *Bolognois* muttered, he said, *As they have behaved, so shall they be rewarded or punished.*



JULIUS . II .



One would think, by this Time, his Holiness had got a thorough Taste, if not almost a Glut, of Military Operations : But such was the Ungovernableness of his *Spirit Ecclesiastick*, that, once mounted on the Pinion of Ambition, it was not to be controuled : For,

Tho' the Loss of *Bologna* gave *Julius* a good deal of Vexation, it being the second Town in the Ecclesiastical Dominions, he valued himself for having reunited, yet he could not forbear projecting new Schemes of War with the *Venetian* Ambassadors : But there happened Murder in his own Court, that did greatly affect him for a while.

The Cardinal of *Pavia*, coming to *Ravenna*, to clear himself from the malicious Report that was spread of him, as if the Loss of *Bologna* was owing either to his Negligence or Treachery, the Pope, on the Cardinal's Arrival, sent him Word, that he would give him Audience after Dinner. The Duke of *Urbino*, the Pope's Nephew, hearing of this, way-laid the Cardinal, fell upon him, and killed him with a Dagger, from a meer Apprehension that he had done him ill Offices with his Uncle.*

The Cardinal of Pavia murdered at Ravenna.

The

* It was greatly suspected, that *Julius*, persuaded of the Cardinal of *Pavia*'s Treachery, had pushed the Duke of *Urbino* on ; and we find the Pope charged with it in a Dialogue between *St. Peter* and *Julius*, published immediately after the Pope's Death, supposed by some to be written by old sarcastical *Erasmus*. But the cotemporary Authors speak of it with Indignation ; and *Erasmus* himself strenuously disowned it, saying in his *Epistles* (Book ix. Epist. i.) " He who wrote it deserves to

" be put into *Bedlam*, and he " that published it ought to be " hang'd." Nor does the perpetrating such a Crime agree with the Character of *Julius*, who, though a Man of a warm Temper and high Spirit, had no such Meanness and Baseness of Soul, that surely dwelt in the Wretch that could be guilty thereof, besides, had *Julius* been persuaded of the Cardinal's Treachery, he might have taken him off with a Shew of Justice, by causing the common Executioner to have dispatched him.

The Pope's Grief was inexpressible when he received the News of this Assassination, not only on Account of his Kinsman's Crime, but for that he had lost a Man in whom he greatly confided, who was intirely devoted to his Service, at a Time when he had the greatest Occasion for him.

This shocking Murder of his most favourite Cardinal made *Julius's* Abode at *Revenna* almost insupportable, and therefore he soon returned to *Rome*; when, to compleat his Affliction, he had the Mortification, as he went thro' *Rimini*, to see a Placard set up for the calling of a general Council, to be held in *Pisa*, in the Month of *September* following.

Lewis forbids rejoicing.

On the other hand *Lewis* shewed great Conduct as well as a true Christian Spirit, when he received the News of the Defeat of the Pope's Army, on which he issued out Orders throughout his Dominions, strictly forbidding all Expressions of publick Joy, usually shewn for Victories obtained over an Enemy; and dispatched an Express to General *Trivulca*, not only to forbear all further Hostilities against the Ecclesiastical Dominions, but to march back the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*. And here we cannot help remarking, that the more prosperous this warlike Prince was, the more Clemency he shewed his Enemies: But not so with *Julius*; for, as no Adversity could abate his Haughtiness, so no Clemency could make him kind; and the more Deference the most Christian King shewed him, the more insolent he grew.

The Bentivogli desire a Reconciliation.

The *Bentivogli* too, notwithstanding the cruel Treatment they had met with from the Pope, were so far from committing any Hostilities, on the Ecclesiastical Dominions, that they implored the Favour of the Pope in as submissive Terms, as they could have used had *Bologna* been in his Hands. Those Lords made an Offering to acknowledge him their Lord Paramount,

and to hold the Fief of *Bologna* of him in the same Manner as their Ancestors had held it of his Predecessors.

But, instead of returning a kind Answer to their Proposal, *Julius* (with all the Vehemence of an intoxicated *High Priest*) excommunicated the *Bentivogli*, and sent *Colonna* at the Head of his shattered Army, which *Trivulca's* Negligence had given him Time to reassemble, to harraß the Territories of *Bologna*: *Colonna* obeyed, but was soon obliged to retire; which Action gives the finishing Stroke to his Holiness's Character.

The Bishop of *Gurck*, when he left *Bologna*, went on to *Milan*, where he found the malecontent Cardinals, and they agreed that the calling a general Council should be no longer delayed; and the Writs for assembling it at *Pisa*, in the Month of *September* following, were dispersed all over *Christendom*.

Bishop of Gurck arrives at Milan.

Two Writs were published, *May* the 16th, for calling this Assembly, one in the Name of the Emperor and the most Christian King, the other in the Name of the malecontent Cardinals; and both contained almost the same Thing, declaring, "That the Design of calling the Council was to reform the Church, both in it's Head and Members, and to punish those notorious Crimes, committed, by obstinate and incorrigible Persons, for a long time, to the great Scandal of the Universal Church: That there was no Ground to hope, his Holiness would ever call one, he having not only neglected so to do, but often eluded the Motions made for it, and broke all his Promises relating to this Matter." * Herein also the Pope himself was summoned to appear at the Council, in a high Strain, though very respectful.

Whether

* This is the Substance of in the *Constitutions of Goldersl.* those Deeds, which see at Length Vol. I.

*The Council
of Pisa opened*

On the First of September the Proctors of the Cardinals repaired to *Pisa*, and celebrated in their Names the Acts appertaining to the Opening of the Council, which highly enraged the Pope against the *Florentines*, for that they countenanced the *Council of Devils*, (for so he always called them) which Offence he declared, that both *Florence* and *Pisa* were subject to be excommunicated,* and to endure all Pains ordained by the Laws against Schismatics, and threatned to invade them with Arms.

On the Opening of the Council the five Cardinals took up their Residence at the Borough of *St. Dony*, where they waited for the Arrival of the *German* and *French* Prelates; but at last they resolved to appear in Person at the Council.

Before they entered *Pisa*, one of them died, and the other four were but coldly received by the Magistrates, and much worse by the common People, his Holiness's Threats had so strongly influenced them. Never was General Council so thin, nor had less Respect shewn them; insomuch, that they perceived it dangerous to remain there, without Arms; therefore they determined to depart that City, which they did sooner than they at first intended, on account of a great Tumult, occasioned by a Strumpet's being ill used by the *French* Soldiers.

*The second Session
of the Council.*

The second Session was held on the 22d of November, when they adjourned to *Milan*, to the no small Joy of the *Florentines* and *Pisans*, and to the no less liking of the Prelates that followed the Council, who did not a little dislike the Place, they being there unprovided

* Whether the calling this Council was right or wrong, *Julius* was certainly to blame in sending out Excommunications on a Quarrel, where neither Points of Religion, nor the Preservation

of the Rights and Dominions of the Church were concerned; for, if his Quarrel had been just, he ought to have endeavoured to redress himself by the Means common to Princes.

vided with good Lodging and other Necessaries, upon which *Guicciardin* observes, " They were deprived of " Living in that Delicacy and Prodigality that Persons " of all Professions and Degrees were wont to find in " the like Assemblies." But, when the Council came to *Milan*, the People there shewed greater Disrespect toward them, than what they had met with at *Pisa*, which put them again upon adjourning; and those that were left of them (near half being gone home) fixed upon *Lyons* in *France*, where they met pursuant to their Adjournment. To this Place they summoned the Pope to appear, and answer to the Crimes laid to his Charge; and, on Failure, decreed forthwith to suspend his Authority. His Holiness on his Part treated them with the utmost Contempt, and sent out thundering Bulls against *France*, excommunicated their King, put the Kingdom under an Interdict, and empowered any Christian Prince to conquer that and *Navarre*. Then he gave Directions to summon another Council, to be held at the *Lateran* at *Rome*, on the 3d of *May*, 1512.

Lewis now conferred the Government of the *Milanese* on the Duke of *Nemours*, a young Prince, who, though not 23 Years of Age, had greatly distinguished himself by his Bravery, was thought worthy of this important Post: And *Trivulca* readily resigned his Command to him, this General being provided for elsewhere.

The Bishop of *Sion*, (whom the Pope had lately made a Cardinal) prevailed on the *Switzers* to raise an Army to assist him in his Distress, promising to pay them a large Sum of Money on their entering *Italy*, and that a large Body of Troops should join theirs. These Proposals they readily accepted of and caused an Army of no less than 16,000 Men (though in *November*) instantly to march, who soon arrived at the very Gates of *Milan*.

The Duke of *Nemours* followed General *Chaumont's* Maxim, of chusing rather to watch their Motions

than fall on them, which had the desired Effect; for the *Swiss*, having the Mortification to be disappointed both of the Money and Troops, and to meet with nothing but Hunger and Cold, were very glad to return home: Thus ended the second *Swiss* Expedition.

*Affairs of Spain
and Italy.*
1511.

After the Ministers had broke up the Meeting at *Mantua*, the King of *Spain* kept a watchful Eye on what was transacting in *Italy*; and, as the Face of Things were there greatly altered, he sily redoubled his Military Preparations, which the neighbouring Princes got Intelligence of.

The *French* Ambassador in particular enquired, for what Use *Ferdinand* was raising so many Forces? and was answered, That they were designed to be employed against the *Moors* in *Africa*; which his Holiness then believing, and, as his Affairs were in a declining State, expressed his Willingness to enter into a Negotiation with *Lewis*, in order to end their Disputes in an amicable Way, and for that Purpose the Bishop of *Murray*, the *Scotch* Ambassador at *Rome*, acted the Part of a Mediator.

Ferdinand was not a little startled at this Turn, being afraid, in case the Pope made a separate Peace with *France*, the Kingdom of *Naples* might be in Danger; tho' the holy Father had no less Reason to fear, that *Ferdinand*, to secure *Naples*, would forsake the Church, and expose her to the Mercy of *France*; and, if that should be the Case, knowing *Ferdinand's* Interest in *England*, he could not tell whether he might not be deprived of that King's Assistance also. But these Clouds soon cleared up; for when *Ferdinand* heard, that *Lewis's* Army was got back to *Milan*, his *African* Expedition was no more talked of; and that of succouring the Pope (whom we may now properly call poor *Julius* the II^d) became the chief Discourse in the Court of *Spain*.

As

As soon as the Pope was made sensible, that *Ferdinand* was fully resolved to send an Army to his Assistance, he again greatly carested the *Spanish* Ambassador, and a League, which had been for some time set on Foot, between the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*, against *France*, was now signed; and all the Articles were also negotiated and settled, with the King of *England's* Consent, by his Ambassador *Baynbridge*.*

The concluding this League soon made the Pope change his Note; for, instead of agreeing with *France*, or to what he first proposed to the *Scotch* Ambassador, he added new Terms to the former, and plainly shewed he was no longer for Peace. This more and more exasperated *Lewis*, which made him now despair of agreeing with so obstinate an Enemy, and therefore ordered his Generals to provide against the worst that might happen.

Maximilian all this Time was at *Inspruck*, unstable as ever, full of vast Projects, but executing none; sometimes going to *Rome* to make himself Sovereign of the *Romans*; sometimes for compleating his Conquests in the *Terra firma*: But, had his Resolution been strong, his Finances rendered him incapable. However, he demanded new Succours from *Lewis*, which Demands generally involved the most Christian King in new Troubles; by granting them, he knew he should drain his Coffers, and by refusing them, he was sure to have *Maximilian* take sudden Measures, which might ruin the Affairs of *France*; this obliged him to supply *Maximilian*, for fear of giving him a Pretence to change Sides, especially as he was strongly solicited by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*: But the Emperor's not declaring himself, and receiving Proposals from every Quarter, became at last equally suspected by all Parties.

* Here it appears, that the the Crown of *England* had then very Countenance or Consent of great Weight



The King of *Spain*, being now determined to assist the Pope, immediately shipped his Forces for *Naples*, where they soon arrived; but restless Pope *Julius*, always fraught with Schemes of Action, as soon as the *Spanish* Troops were refreshed, pressed *Raymond de Cardone*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to send them to join his and the *Venetian* Army, offering to command the whole in Person, which the Viceroy agreed to: Yet, before the Armies could be got together, this Year expired. In short, *Lewis* now saw himself upon the Point of being attacked by the Forces of the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the *Venetians*, in Conjunction; and how far old *Ferdinand's* Projects in *Italy* succeeded, the ensuing Year will shew.

Affairs of Scotland and England. 1511.

James the IVth of *Scotland's* Remorse, for taking Arms against his Father, continued, which made him pursue his former Resolution of visiting the holy Sepulchre, and for that End *Robert Black-a-Toure*, Abbot of *Dumfermling*, was directed to set out to prepare Matters for the King's Reception in the *Holy Land*; but the Abbot's dying on his Journey stopt his Majesty's Progress; and Affairs, of much greater Consequence to his People, soon fell out to employ his Majesty's Time, which were no less than the Preservation of their Rights and Liberties.

Henry the VIIIth thought proper at this Time to see how King *James* stood affected towards him, and, if possible, to remove any Pretence for quarrelling, in case he should determine to take the Pope's Part against *France*, which was the more necessary, as the *Scots* had maintained a strict Alliance with the *French* for many Years. For this Purpose he sent Sir *Thomas Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Drury* into *Scotland*, to learn *James's* real Intentions; but this Precaution was soon followed by Matters of more Moment.

One *Andrew Breton*, a *Scotchman*, was about this Time basely murdered by the *Portuguese*, and his Ship

siezed.

siezed. On this his Son, *Andrew*, complaining to King *James*, his Majesty sent an Agent into *Portugal*, to demand Satisfaction for this Outrage; which not obtaining, he gave *Breton* Letters of Marque and Reprisal. Whereupon *Breton* equipped two stout Ships, put to Sea, and in a short time made himself some amends, by taking and rummaging several *Portugal* Ships trading to *Flanders* and *England*; nay, he became so daring at last, as to attack and take *English* Ships.

Of these Proceedings our Merchants complained, and the *Portugal* Ambassador, residing at *London*, represented to the Council, that, since the King of *England* claimed the Sovereignty of the *Narrow Seas*, it was reasonable he should protect the Ships that came into the Channel. The Council immediately dispatched an Express to his Majesty, then, in the Course of his Tour, at *Leicester*, to acquaint him with the *Portuguese* Ambassador's Representation, and our Merchants Complaints.

The King, just before this Complaint, had raised Sir *Edward Howard* to the Dignity of an Admiral; his Majesty did not think it needful, on this Occasion, to send to his Ambassadors into *Scotland* to demand Satisfaction, but ordered his Admiral to sail with two Men of War in quest of *Breton*,* or any other that should presume to dispute the Sovereignty of those Seas, or interrupt the free Commerce of his Subjects; which Orders *Howard* so well executed, that he soon met with, and engaged *Breton*, who fought so bravely, that, after he was mortally wounded, he encouraged his Men with a Whistle to fight to the last; yet his Ships were taken and brought into *England*, where himself died of his Wounds.

This

* A true *English* Spirit! May it continue! For, we apprehend, it will often make a short End of a Molestation and Misunderstanding.

This Step greatly enraged the King of *Scotland*, who sent Messengers to *England* to demand Satisfaction: To whom the King's Council made answer, " That " Pirates were not included in Treaties of Peace ; " but, in regard the Prisoners were the Subjects of " the Crown of *Scotland*, tho' they deserved Death, " his Majesty had pardoned them."

This Answer by no means pleased the *Scotch* King ; therefore he protested against this Injustice, as he was pleased to term it. Upon this *Henry*, his two Ministers returning without Success, concluded, that, should he take Part with any of the Princes of *Europe* against *France*, the *Scotch* would engage on their Behalf.

The beginning of this Year an Affair happened, that occasioned great Joy both in the *English* Court, and thro' the Nation in general. We mean the Birth of a young Prince, who was, on the first of *January*, born at *Richmond*, and christened *Henry* ; but it lasted not long, for the young Prince died before the end of *February*, and was buried in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel in *Westminster Abbey*.

Old *Ferdinand* much endeavoured to engage *Henry* in the League, he was forming with the Pope against *France*, judging, as he was rich and powerful, such a Junction would add great Weight to it, and extremely incommode *Lewis*: And, as usual, the *Spanish* King abounded with Dissimulation, pretending, that he had nothing in View but the Peace of *Europe*; that it was his Desire all the Princes of *Christendom* should join in a War against the *Infidels* ; and, under this Pretext, he demanded of his Son-in-law 1000 *English* Archers, to be employed in the Expedition he pretended was going on against the *Moors*: To which *Henry*, apprehending him in earnest, readily complied, and appointed

appointed Sir *Thomas D'Arcy*, (on whom he conferred the Title of Baron *) to command that small Body of Men; and wrote his Father-in-Law a very respectful Letter, wherein he begged he would not hazard his sacred Person in the Expedition, but send some able General to command in his stead. These Forces embarked the Beginning of *May* at *Plymouth* for *Spain*, and among other Persons of Distinction, who accompanied his Lordship, were the Lord *Anthony Grey*, (one of the *Marquis of Dorset's* Brothers) Sir *Henry Guilford*, and *William Sidney*, Esq; † who all landed at *Cadiz*, *June* the 1st, and were received by *Ferdinand* very kindly; who immediately dispatched a Letter filled with many Compliments, and, in a most religious Strain, tells his dutiful Son-in-Law, " That
 " nevertheless we confess ourselves very much obliged to you, not only for the Army which you
 " have been pleased so generously to assign us, for
 " this holy Expedition, but also for your most prudent and affectionate Advice, which we should most
 " readily follow, if our Expedition was of such a Nature as did not require our immediate Presence,
 " and might as well be conducted by any of our
 " Generals: And we are not ignorant, that many
 " are the Toils, and great the Danger, which we
 " must encounter with, as well by Sea as Land;
 " but when we consider the much greater Labours,
 " and even the Death on the Cross, which our Lord
 " Jesus Christ (for whose Honour and Glory we
 " have undertaken this Expedition) went through and
 " suffered for us, nothing can happen to us in it,
 " which we shall think Labour, but rather our most
 " desirable and sweetest Rest; nor shall we reckon
 " any

* From this worthy Nobleman the present Right Honourable *Robert D'Arcy*, Earl of *Holderness*, is descended, and has Issue, by his late Countess, (one of the Daughters of the famous

Duke of *Schomberg*) one Son and a Daughter living.

† From this Gentleman the present Right Honourable *Joceline*, Earl of *Leicester*, is descended.

“ any Loss too great for obtaining the greatest Gain ; but we trust and hope in his Mercy, as we are preparing to make this Expedition, and going into such a War, that he will favour his own Cause, and help us in fighting for him.”

Ferdinand bestowed extraordinary Honours on the Officers that commanded these Forces, particularly the Honour of Knighthood on Sir *Henry Guilford*, — *Weston*, and — *Brown* ; and gave also to Sir *Henry Guilford* a Canton of *Granada*, and to *Weston* and *Brown* an Eagle of *Sicily*, for the Augmentation of their Arms ; but we do not find any other Use was made of this small Body of Troops, than that, after he had detained them some time in *Spain*, they were at Liberty to return Home, informing their Commander, that very weighty Reasons determined him to lay aside his *Moorish* Expedition for this Year ; but, before they departed, he shewed extraordinary Favours both to the inferior Officers and private Men ; so that all expressed their Satisfaction at the Treatment they had met with : And it soon after appeared, he never had any Thoughts of such Expedition against the *Moors* ; for those very Forces, which he alledged he had raised to go against them, he employed against *France*. In short, both Officers and Soldiers, upon their Arrival in *England*, took care to blaze abroad the kind Treatment they had met with in *Spain*, which answered *Ferdinand's* End ; for by that Means he became very popular in *England*, and was then esteemed one of his Majesty's most faithful Allies.

The Pope and Venetians Designs on England.

During this Time both the Pope and the *Venetians* were using all Endeavours, to prevail with our King to join in a League against *Lewis* the XIIth, and great Care was taken to render all this good Prince's Actions in the most odious Light ; the latter sent an Ambassador to assist the *Spanish* Ambassa-

dor in his Design of drawing the young King into the projected League ; Monsieur *Rapin* affirms, that the Pope conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon Archbishop *Baynbridge*, purely on the Account of his labouring to set *Henry* at Variance with *France*. But the *Venetians*, to cover their real Design, gave out, that they sent their Ambassador to *England* with no other View, than to thank the King for his Care to reconcile them to the Pope, which seemed probable ; for that *Baynbridge* had had particular Instructions to assist them in getting the Absolution before-mentioned.

Now it was but too evident, that these three artful Powers saw, that these Proposals were favourably received in *England*, and that her Sovereign was in their Interest, which they perceived by his Majesty's Declaration, " That, though the Kingdom was in Tranquillity, he wished his Subjects would be in Readiness to serve him, as well against an Invasion, if any was intended, as in Defence of his Allies ;" which could respect only the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*.

Ferdinand heard with Pleasure that the Scheme he had laid was in a fair Way of succeeding, which put him more and more upon courting and commending the Actions of our young Prince.

During this Time Affairs of State was principally conducted by the Council the King first chose ; tho' Dean *Wolsey* was now every Day getting further into the King's Favour, and attended him where-ever he resided ; and, being at *Windsor*, with his Majesty, he wrote to his old Patron, Bishop *Fox*, to acquaint him how Matters passed at Court, which, as it will best shew his Sentiments, we shall here give an Extract of it.

" After my most humble Commendations with Desire of your Health and perfect Recovery, may it please

Wolsey's Letter to Bishop Fox.

VOL. II.

P

" your
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“ your good Lordship to understand : The Am-
 “ bassador of *Spain* hath liberally dealt with my
 “ Lord *D’Arcy*, and given him Allowance for one
 “ whole Month after 6*d.* the Day, and for 15
 “ Days after 8*d.* the Day, for every Soldier, more
 “ than he could demand ; and the King, *our Master*,
 “ hath for his Part given to him the Thousand
 “ Pounds, which at his departing his Grace lent to
 “ him. Thus the King’s Money goes away in
 “ every Kind ; and as touching the King’s Abode
 “ here, he intends not to depart hence till four or
 “ five Days before *All-ballow-tide*. On *Monday* next
 “ coming his Grace proposes to ride to *London* to
 “ see his Ship, there to tarry two Days, and then
 “ return hither again. My Lord *Sba—ys* is not yet
 “ come to Court, but is expected in three or four
 “ Days. My Lord Treasurer, *Surry*, waited on his
 “ Highness this Day Sevensnight, and had such Man-
 “ ner and Countenance shewed to him, that on the
 “ Morrow he departed Home again, and is not yet
 “ returned to Court. With little Help now he might
 “ be removed, whereof, in my poor Judgment, no
 “ little Good would ensue. Mr. *Howard* greatly
 “ incensed the King against the *Scots*, by whose
 “ wanton Means his Grace spends much Money,
 “ and is more disposed to War than Peace. Your
 “ Presence would be very necessary to repress this
 “ Appetite. Other News we have none here, except
 “ that it is thought the Queen is with Child ; when
 “ other Affairs occur, I shall let you know, hoping
 “ God will preserve your good Lordship in Happi-
 “ ness. At *Windsor* in haste the last Day of *Septem-*
 “ *ber*, with the rude Hand of your loving and hum-
 “ ble Priest.

“ As touching the Preferment of Mr. *T—ng*, I need
 “ not write, for I suppose he has advertised your
 “ Lordship at Length in that Behalf, and also de-
 “ sired your Counsel now that the King has shewed

“ him his Pleasure, how far the Expedition of this
 “ Matter shall be further ordered and demeaned.
 “ Our Lord send you Health and Strength.”

The above Extract shews, that several Matters were transacted, since *Henry's* Accession to the Throne, contrary to *Wolsey's* Opinion ; and that he continued carefully to pay his Court to his old Patron, and that no Dispatches of Consequence came into *Wolsey's* Hands, but he laid them before the Bishop, and advised with him concerning them, which certainly could not but be very acceptable to his Lordship, for Reasons before-mentioned.

Soon after the King's Return from *Windsor*, *Wolsey* was preferred to the Prebend of *Bugthorp* in the Church of *York*, and, upon the Death of Dr. *Harrington*, was made Dean of that Cathedral. This last Preferment seemed highly pleasing to Cardinal *Baynbridge*, who wrote him a congratulatory Letter thereon under this Superscription, *To my Right entirely beloved Brother, the King's Almoner and Dean of my Church of York.*

But to proceed, as to *Spain*, the kind Treatment, the *English* met with there, remained fresh in every one's Memory, and the good Opinion the *English* had conceived of *Ferdinand*, put him upon renewing the alluring Proposals, he had caused to be made to *Henry* last Year, of assisting him in no less a Matter than recovering from *France* the Dominions the *English* formerly possessed in that Country, which so pleased our King, that he told the *Spanish* Ambassador, in case that was done, he was ready to engage with his Master in such Undertakings, as should be further thought of, for their mutual Interests.

As soon as it was known at *Rome*, how favourably our Prince received every Proposal from old *Ferdinand*, the Pope, in order to excite the King to declare in his Favour, wrote him a Letter filled

The Pope and the Venetians make their Use of Ferdinand's Negotiations.

with Complaints against *Lewis*, and tells his Majesty, "That *Lewis*, neither esteeming God, good Fame, or Conscience, had detained the Revenues of the Church, and designed nothing less than to usurp all *Italy*; and therefore besought the King, in Pity to *Christ*,* and in Honour to his Ancestors, who never forsook the *Church of Christ* when in Distress, to assist him against the Tyranny of that Prince."

Soon after the King had received this Letter, *Ferdinand's* Ambassador became very Busy in *England*, to conclude a League for the Purposes proposed by his Master, which, upon the Face of it, seemed only to concern *England*. But,

Henry and Ferdinand send Ambassadors to the French King. Whilst this Treaty was carrying on, it was thought advisable, that some Pretence should be found to give a Colour for concluding it;

and at last it was agreed, both Kings should send Ambassadors to *France*; where being arrived they were admitted to an Audience, in which they demanded of *Lewis*, "To forbear distressing or molesting the Pope, for, if he continued so to do, their Masters would look upon themselves obliged to assist their Spiritual Father." The King plainly saw the Drift of this Embassy, and that, as they had already taken such Measures, it would be too late to justify his Conduct in Form, therefore judged it best to return an haughty Answer; which was precisely what the two old Foxes wished for.

Upon the Receipt of this Answer nothing remained to obstruct the further finishing of the League, which our Prince had so much at heart, and, on the 23d of *November*, it was concluded at *London*.

They sign a League In the Preamble to the Treaty they declared, "That they intended to have turned their Arms against the Enemies of the Christian

* Like Pope, like Spanish King, for trading in Religious Coverings.

“ Christian Faith ; but inasmuch as the *French King*
 “ had besieged the Pope in *Bologna*, and, notwithstanding his Holiness, through his Paternal Clemency,
 “ had offered him the Pardon of all his Sins, provided
 “ he would abstain from the Patrimony of the Church ;
 “ and though the Kings of *England* and *Spain* had used
 “ their Royal Interposition, yet *Lewis* still slighted
 “ their pious Desires ; therefore they had agreed to
 “ the Articles following :

“ *First*, The Two Kings of *England* and *Spain*
 “ took upon them the Defence of the holy *Roman*
 “ Church, against all Persons that should attack
 “ her.

“ *Secondly*, *Ferdinand* in particular promised to take
 “ Arms for her Defence in *Italy*.

“ *Thirdly*, That as the Pope and Cardinals, in
 “ order to deliver the Church from the Oppression
 “ she laboured under, judged it was necessary not
 “ only to carry on the War in *Italy*, but also in
 “ such of the Provinces of *France* as bordered upon
 “ the Allies, it was therefore agreed, they should
 “ carry their Arms into *Guienne*, and conquer that
 “ Province for the Crown of *England*, that *Henry*,
 “ for assisting the Church, might recover what be-
 “ longed to him.

“ *Fourthly*, That *Henry*, sometime in *April*, 1512,
 “ should send 6500 Men into *Guienne*, commanded by
 “ a good General, maintained at his own Expence,
 “ and not to be recalled without the Consent of
 “ the King of *Spain*.

“ *Fifthly*, That *Ferdinand* should find 2000 Men
 “ at Arms, 3000 Light-horse, and 4000 Foot, and
 “ provide the *English Army* with Provisions at a mo-
 “ derate Price.

“ *Sixthly*, That each King should send a Fleet to
 “ Sea with 3000 good Soldiers (besides Marines)
 “ for six Months ; and that neither should recal his
 “ Fleet, nor make a Peace or Truce, without the
 “ other's Consent.”

Henry

Henry and his Council thought, without doubt, they had made a very advantageous Treaty, since it was to procure them the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and *Ferdinand* demanded nothing for himself, but acted purely from a Motive of *Religion*, and out of *Affection* for his Son-in-law ; tho' in reality he consulted his own Interest, and made *Henry* only a Dupe to his demure Father and Ally.

Rapin's Remarks. *Rapin* remarks, on concluding the

Treaties at *Rome* and in *England*,
 “ That the latter was the Consequence of the first,
 “ on the Supposition that the depriving of the
 “ King of *France* of that Province, was a good
 “ Means to preserve and protect the Church of God,
 “ the principal Aim of the Allies. If ever God's
 “ holy Name was openly and shamefully taken in
 “ vain, it is in the Preamble of these two Treaties.
 “ In the first, the Pope protested, that his sole Aim,
 “ in desiring *Bologna* and the other States that be-
 “ longed to the Church, was to restore *Italy* to her
 “ former Tranquillity, that all *Christians* might join
 “ their Forces against the *Infidels*, as he ever wished,
 “ and still did wish, with all his Heart.” But, to re-
 turn to his Majesty.

University of Oxford Rights restored. He followed the Example of his noble Ancestors ; for, soon after his Accession to the Throne, at the Request of Archbishop *Warham*, Chancellor ; Sir *Thomas More*, High Steward ; and Mr. *Wolfey*, his Almoner, he not only confirmed all its Charters of Privileges, but increased the same ; among which, he confirmed that of *Edward* the IVth, by Diploma truly Royal, and exceeding all the Grants of his Progenitors, which was soon after lost, and not recovered for several Years.

This Year the Scholars were very ill treated by the Townsmen, through their attempting to destroy some of the most antient and known Rights of the University,

versity, whereof the Scholars first complained to their Chancellor; adding, that their Treasury was so exhausted, that they had not Money to purchase a Renewal of their Privileges, wherefore they prayed his Assistance; likewise solicited Mr. *Wolsey* and several other Gentlemen on the same Head, who were prevailed on to interpose on the Behalf of the University, whereby they obtained what they requested, and the University was restored to its former Tranquillity.

Whilst his Majesty was bestowing his Favours on the University of *Oxford*, *Church Zeal.* *Warham* was proceeding with his *wholesome* Severity against several Persons for holding Heretical Tenets, so called, among whom, as the Reverend Mr. *Collier* relates, *Christopher Grebel*, and others, abjured the Articles in these Words following: " In the Name of
" God, Amen, before you, the Reverend Father in
" God, my Lord *William*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
" I *Christopher Grebel*, Layman, of the Diocese of
" *Canterbury*, of my pure Heart and free Will, confess, that I, in Times past, have believed, said,
" affirmed, holden, and taught of the Sacraments of
" the Church, and other Articles of Faith, otherways
" than the *holy* Church of *Rome*, and *universal* Church
" of God, teacheth, &c. And especially, amongst
" others, these Errors and Heresies following; that is
" to say, that, in the Sacrament of the Altar is not
" the Body of Christ, but material Bread: That the
" Sacrament of Baptism and Confirmation is not necessary, nor profitable for Man's Soul: That Pilgrimage to holy and devout Places is not profitable, nor meritorious for Man's Soul: That Images
" of Saints were not to be worshipped: That a Man
" should pray to no Saint, but only to God: And
" that holy Water and holy Bread are not better, after the Benediction made by the Priest, than they
" were before."

Grebel and his Companions were also, for these Offences, enjoined this Penance, to go barefoot, and offer a Taper at the high Altar, and there make an Offering when Mass was said. But *Stephen Castiline*, who was esteemed a chief Encourager of the People's embracing these Opinions, was enjoined this particular Penance: To carry a Faggot before the Procession, on the next Lord's Day, into the Church of *Tenderden*; to be confined to a sort of perpetual Imprisonment in the Monastery of *Leeds* in *Kent*, there to feed on *Pane doloris*, and *Aqua angustia*; and, in case he took the Liberty of going farther than a Mile from that Place, was to be treated as a Person relapsed.

Nothing happened remarkable in *Affairs of Ireland* this Year, respecting the Government; but there were so great Floods and Inundations, that Trees, Houses, and Bridges, were overturned in several Places: *Catrii O Connor*, Prince of *Ossaly*, was murdered by his own Followers, near the Abbey called *Monasterpheoris* in King's County; with which unhappy Tragedy we shall conclude the Year 1511.

Affairs of England. 1512. THIS Year opened with holding several Councils, in relation to assisting the Pope, and carrying on the designed War against *France*, in which several spoke to the following Purport.

“ That a fairer Opportunity never offered itself,
 “ whether the King designed to maintain the Authority
 “ of the Pope, or to recover his own Right in *France*;
 “ that either of these was a just Consideration, but both
 “ together added still greater Weight; and these Designs
 “ would not only have the Assistance and Blessing
 “ of his Holiness, but of his Father-in-law: Besides
 “ which, it was probable the Emperor might join here-
 “ in; however, he and *Lewis* the XIIth had concurred

“ in their Designs: That it was not unlikely the
 “ King’s Subjects in *France* retained still a due Me-
 “ mory not only of their Allegiance, but of the Be-
 “ nefits received from the Crown of *England*: That
 “ there never wanted in that Kingdom discontented
 “ Persons who would join with his Forces: That the
 “ King’s Coffers never were so full in any King’s
 “ Time, and to which he could not doubt, but a
 “ large Supply would be given by Parliament, who
 “ never failed in their Contributions, when there was
 “ a just Oocasion. The Difficulties his Majesty
 “ could find in the Enterprize were inconsiderable,
 “ *Lewis* the XIIth being not only deeply engaged in
 “ a War in *Italy*, but had lost his best Men there; so
 “ that, before he could give Orders for his Affairs at
 “ home, he might be very much put to it; and, when
 “ he should leave his Pursuit in *Italy*, to look to his
 “ own Country, that would yet free the Pope from
 “ the Danger he was in, and consequently give
 “ his Majesty the Honour of performing his In-
 “ tentions.”

But others argued against the War to the following Effect :

“ Suppose it be granted, that as many Battles as
 “ we have fought against the *French* have been al-
 “ most so many Victories, what was this Kingdom e-
 “ ver the better for them? Who can say he made a
 “ Fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious
 “ Time (in respect to Victory) than that of *Edward*
 “ the IIIrd, and was ever the Country more weary
 “ of War? If you will not believe our Histories,
 “ look into our Records, and you will find not only
 “ that the Treasure of our Kingdom was much ex-
 “ hausted, but even the People themselves tired with the
 “ Conquests on the Continent. Let us therefore, in
 “ God’s Name, leave off our Attempts against *Terra*
 “ *firma*; the natural Situation of Islands seems not
 “ to suit with Conquests of that Kind. *England* is

“ a just Empire.* If we want to enlarge our Domi-
 “ nions, let it be where it seems more agreeable to us.
 “ The *Indies*, both *East* and *West*, are discovered,
 “ and vast Treasure brought from thence every Day ;
 “ let us therefore bend our Endeavours thither, and;
 “ if *Spain* and *Portugal* suffer us not to join with
 “ them, there is yet Room enough for us to enjoy.
 “ If we want to exercise Piety, let us practise on the
 “ *Infidels*, by endeavouring to convert them to the
 “ *Christian* Religion, which is a much better Province
 “ than establishing a doubtful Head of the Church,
 “ the Council of *Pisa* having determined to depose
 “ him.”

But our young King, with whom Zeal to do the Pope Service, and Ambition to recover what his Predecessors enjoyed in *France*, greatly prevailed, approved of the Opinion of the first Speakers, urging, *First*, There were hopes of getting the Emperor over to the King's Interest. *Secondly*, That the Pope had promised to take away the Title of *Most Christian* from the *French* Crown, and to confer it on the *English*, which would be a perpetual Glory to the Nation ; and this their own Historians confirm.

At the breaking up of the Council, *War declared against France.* it was resolved to call a Parliament, and to send *John Young*, Doctor of Laws, to *France*, to make two Demands of *Lewis* : *First*, That he should desist from the War against the Pope. *Second*, To deliver up his Master's Inheritance of *Anjou*, *Guienne*, &c. But *Lewis* absolutely refused to comply with either ; whereupon War was declared against *France*.

On the 4th of *February* the Parliament met, and the King delivered himself to the following Purport : “ That
 “ he thought it for the Good of his Sub-
 “ jects

* If *England* was so then, the *land* must make it much more Addition of *Ireland* and *Scot-* so now. *Digitized by Google*

jects to make War with *France*, declaring, that his chief Views were to recover his Inheritance in *France*, to free the Pope from the Oppression of the *French* King, and to cause the schismatical Council of *Pisa* to be dissolved."

Next, Chancellor *Warham* made a long Speech, setting forth the Reason that induced the King to call his High Court of Parliament, enlarged on the King's Virtues, shewed that Justice had been set aside, and Peace turned into War, through the irregular Proceedings of the *French* King; concluding with this Observation, that as Justice could not be had by fair Means, Necessity obliged us to seek it by Force of Arms.

The Parliament, agreeable to his Majesty's Speech, approved of the intended War; and, to enable the King to carry it on with Vigour, the Commons granted the King two Fifteenths, and the Clergy likewise allowed him two Tenths. The Parliament also passed these six Acts,* and then broke up.

But, before the breaking up of this Parliament, so much of the Attainder of *Edmund Dudley*, before-mentioned,

Q 2

* I. To lay a Penalty upon any Captain that had not his Company compleat, or not paid his Soldiers; and to make it Felony, without Benefit of Clergy, for a Soldier to desert.

II. To restrain the Transporting of Woollen Cloth before it be Felled, Rowed, Shorne, &c. but Cloth called Vessies, Raies, Sailing Cloths, and other Cloths sold for four Marks, or under, are excepted.

III. To appoint an Assessor of the Prices of Victuals in Cities and Boroughs, (except *London, York, and Coventry*) where the chief Officer is a Victualler,

IV. To prevent ignorant Persons practising Physick, and Surgery, and appointing proper Persons to examine them before licensed; and, if any proceed contrary to this Act, to forfeit five Pounds.

V. To empower Justices to prevent Abuses of Sheriffs returning Persons not proper to serve on Juries, and to empower them to inspect and reform the Panels, if needful.

VI. To empower the Master and Wardens of the *Tallow-Chandler's* Company, to search for, and punish such Persons, as sell mixed Oil.

mentioned, was reversed, as to enable his Son, *John Dudley*, * to enjoy the Dignity of his Family; and it was observed, that the King from that time shewed a great Respect for this Gentleman, and, towards the End of his Reign, constituted him Lord Admiral of *England*.

About this Time a Discovery was made, that the Negotiations, that had been so secretly carried on, between our Prince and the Pope, were communicated

* He far exceeded his Father, for he rose to be Duke of *Northumberland*, and his Son, *Gilbert*, by an Intermarriage with the Lady *Jane Gray*, upon the Death of *Edward* the VIth, bid fair for the Crown, though it proved fatal, for the Father, the Son, and the young Lady lost their Heads. Yet *Robert*, the Duke's other Son, found Favour; for, in the first of Queen *Mary*, he was restored in Blood, and soon made Master of the *English* Ordnance at the Siege of *St. Quintins*. In the first Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, he was made Master of the Horse; and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter; in the third Year, Constable of *Windsoor* Castle; in the sixth Year, the Queen recommended him for a Husband to *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, and then she advanced him to the Titles of Baron of *Denbigh*, and Earl of *Leicester*; in her eighth Year, he was honoured with the Trophies of a Knight of the Order of *St. Michael*, by *Charles* the IXth of *France*, and chosen one of the Privy Counsell, and Captain General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*; and in

the Year 1588, upon the *Spanish* Invasion, advanced to be General of the *English* Forces against the *Spaniards*: Nor did he, even in the Declension of Life, drop the hopes of new Honours and Advancements, by the Accession of the high Character, of acting as the Queen's Lieutenant in the Government of *England* and *Ireland*, for which Letters Patent were actually drawn; but the Lord Chancellor, *Hatton*, and the Lord Treasurer, *Burleigh*, put a stop to it, and the Queen saw in time the great Danger of trusting so large a Share of her own Prerogative in the Hands of a single Person; and soon after he fell into Disgrace, and died at *Cornbury Park*, in *Oxfordshire*, Sept. the 4th, 1588, and was buried at *Warwick*, where he has a noble Monument.

It may be further noted, that the Grandfather lost his Head, *August* the 17th, 1510; on *Tower-hill*; the Father met with the like Stroke, on the same Spot of Ground, *August* the 17th, 1553; and tho' the Son died in his Bed, he was in Disgrace, and it was strongly suspected he poisoned himself.

ted to the *French* King, by one *Buonviso*, a Bankrupt *Italian* Merchant, who resided in *London*, and was lately appointed his Holiness's Agent here: This Man was of infinite Service to the *French*, by the early Intelligence he gave them of what was transacting in *England*.

In our last Year's Account we spoke of *Affairs of*
a Misunderstanding between *England* and *Scotland*. 1512.
Scotland, but as the King was resolved to proceed in the War against *France*, he was resolved to try once more, whether he could not prevail on *James* the IVth to stand neuter, and sent *Thomas* Lord *D'Arcy* and Dr. *Nicholas West*, Dean of *Windfor*, into *Scotland*, to offer him Satisfaction for all the Grievances, he could justly pretend his Subjects had met with from the *English*. When these Ambassadors arrived, they found the King was making great Preparations for War, and that Courier after Courier was passing between *Scotland* and *France*; they, however, in the Audience granted them, represented, 'That their Master was something jealous of the Armament that he was making, seeing, if any Differences were subsisting between his Majesty's and their Master's Subjects, the King was ready and well-disposed to make them all the Satisfaction they could reasonably ask.' To which *James* answered, 'That, as there was an Appearance of a War between *England* and *France*, and as he was an Ally of both Crowns, he thought proper to arm his Subjects, to be ready in case of need, he not being disposed to assist either Party, but to observe in their Quarrel an exact Neutrality: Which the Ambassadors prayed they might have in Writing, but it was refused.

These Ambassadors found, in their Conference with the *Scotch* Ministers, touching the Differences between *England* and *Scotland*, that *James* was in the *French* Interest; and one of them plainly told the

English Ambassadors, 'That, as the *English* were greatly encreased in Power, and had often shewed their Intention of Conquering or Uniting *Scotland* with *England*, their Master looked upon it as his inseparable Interest to prevent it, by supporting the *French* whenever they were in Distress; that they might, in their Turn, assist the *Scotch*, should the *English* attempt any thing to their Prejudice.' In Answer to this our Ambassadors endeavoured to shew, 'That an Alliance with *England* was much more natural than with *France*, and the more so as the Royal Families of *England* and *Scotland* were so nearly united by Matrimony.' But all Reasons proved ineffectual, and at last the Ambassadors discovered, that *James* had actually, on the 22d of *May*, this Year, concluded a Treaty with *France*, to support that Crown against *England*; and soon after *Henry* got a Copy of the League, which fully convinced him, that Treating with *James* was now out of the Question, and therefore recalled his Ministers, and took care to provide for the worst Events, by sending the Earl of *Surry* into the *North*, who, as soon as he arrived, immediately fell to raising an Army, and putting the Frontiers in the best Posture of Defence.

During these Transactions Cardinal *Baynbridge*, the *English* Ambassador at *Rome*, was not deficient, in laying before *Julius*, pursuant to his Instructions, what he expected from *Scotland*. His Holiness thereupon directed a Monitory Brief to *James*, in-joining him at this Juncture to forbear making War on *England*, under Pain of Excommunication. King *James* was highly disgusted, when he received Notice of this Brief, and directed the Bishop of *Murray* to use his best Endeavours to get it revoked; and, in case he could not, he ordered the Bishop to declare to the Pope, that the King, his Master, would

would withdraw his Obedience; and that, if he was disposed to make War upon *England*, this proceeding of the Court of *Rome* should not deter him from it. In short, whatever the Bishop could do, his Holiness would not revoke the Brief.

Our Ambassadors were no sooner returned from *Scotland*, than King *James* shewed a particular Instance of his Affection for *France*, in suffering Ships to be built in *Scotland* for the Use of the *French*, and this very Year a Fleet sailed from *Scotland*, under the Command of *James Lord Hamilton*,* to *France*, which was so acceptable to *Lewis* the XIIth, that he made this Lord Knight of the Ship, † and granted him a large Pension.

Though War with *France* was declared, it was demurred what Part should first be attacked; but, because King *Ferdinand* had promised to join us in this (*Holy*) War, it was resolved, that a Body of Forces should land in the *Spanish* Dominions, and there join the *Spaniards*, and as soon as both Armies united they were to invade *Guienne*. The *English* Forces named for this grand Expedition were 10,000 Veterans, half of which were Archers, and the King was pleased to appoint the Marquis of *Dorset* (eldest Son of *Wolsey's* first Patron)

*Affairs of
England.
1512.*

* From this Nobleman. *James*, Duke of *Hamilton*, and *Brandon*; *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Abercorn*; *Thomas Hamilton*, Earl of *Haddington*; *Anne Hamilton*, Countess of *Orkney*; *John Hamilton*, Lord *Belhaven*; *Gustavus Hamilton*, Viscount *Boyne*; and *James Hamilton*, Lord Viscount *Limbrick*, are all descended. The present noble Duke was Son of the late Duke *Hamilton*, who was unfortunately killed, in a Duel with the late *Charles* Lord *Mobin*, on the 13th of Novem-

ber, 1713. As his Grace, was universally beloved and esteemed in *Scotland*, the News of his Death caused inexpressible Grief to Persons of all Ranks. He had many Virtues, was an obliging and constant Friend, and affable to all he conversed with.

† An Order of Knighthood instituted by *St. Lewis*, to encourage the Nobility of *France* to proceed by Sea with him to *Africa*, in order to make War on the *Infidels*.

tron) to be their Commander in Chief; who, as then reported, obtained this Command partly through *Wolsey's* Means; and expressed himself in this grateful Manner to the Marquis: "That he thought himself happy if he had rendered him any Service, and should think it the greatest Comfort of his Life, to have a further Opportunity of shewing his Gratitude to any of the Sons of that noble Peer, who had given him his first Preferment in the Church."

The Marquis's fine Attitude of Body, Gracefulness of Mein, and sweet Disposition of Mind seemed conjoined by Nature to render him a Companion for Princes; was the happy Man that never dispensed with his Knowledge and celebrated Virtues, for the then fashionable Vices; and ever had the Esteem of the Court, the Love of his Soldiers, and the Respect of all that knew him.

The Time being come for the Troops under the Marquis's Command to embark for *Spain*, (which they did under Convoy of Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord High-Admiral) the General was accompanied by his three Brothers, *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard*, (all educated under *Wolsey*) by the Lords *Willoughby de Broke*, *Ferrers*, and *Burford*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and many other Gentlemen; and he with his Forces safely arrived at a Port in *Guiposcoa* on the 8th of *June*.

The Marquis of *Dorset* was no sooner arrived there, but he found a Courier of the King of *Spain* waiting to receive him, who paid him great Respect, and told him the Duke *de Alba* was taking the Field, in order to join him, which was very pleasing to the *English*, after so tedious a Voyage. It is true, the Duke immediately put himself at the Head of the *Spanish* Army, but, instead of joining the *English*, who were encamped near *Fontarabia*, with Design to besiege the City of *Bayonne*, as had been resolved on, he

he kept at *Logroño*, on the Borders of *Navarre*, and intimated to the *English* General, that, the King of *Navarre* being in Alliance with *France*, it would be very dangerous to attack *Bayonne*, as that Kingdom was at their Backs; and therefore he thought it necessary, before they engaged in any Siege, to try to gain the King of *Navarre* to the Interest of their Masters.

These Reasons were so plausible, that the Marquis was easily persuaded to send an *English* Officer to the King of *Navarre*, to require him to join with the Allies; *Ferdinand* summoned him likewise, but more haughtily, to forsake the King of *France*, and come into the League, or deliver four of his Towns for their Security, both which that Prince refused.

During these Transactions a *French* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, approached the Frontiers of *Bearne*; whereupon the Marquis complained to *Ferdinand*, that the Time lost in soliciting the King of *Navarre* had given the *French* the Opportunity of coming to defend their Borders, and withal pressed him to declare, whether he would attack *Guienne*, pursuant to the Treaty of *London*, or not. *Ferdinand* answered, ‘ Prudence would not suffer him to send his Army to *Fontarabia* to besiege *Bayonne*, and leave his Dominions exposed to the Invasions of the *French* and *Navarrois*: That it was much more convenient to pass thro’ *Navarre*, and secure three or four Places, in order to hinder the Enemy from making Use of that Kingdom against him: That therefore he wished the *English* would join the Duke of *Alva*, and his Army should make the Vanguard and be exposed to the first Danger, hinting, that the Siege of *Bayonne* would not thereby be retarded, because, without all Question, the King of *Navarre* would be glad to be something pressed, in order to justify himself

‘ to the King of *France*, when he should enter into
‘ the League.’

The Marquis, who did not yet see into *Ferdinand’s* Designs, having held a Council of War, replied, ‘ That by his Instructions he could under-
‘ take nothing against the King of *Navarre*; and,
‘ if the Duke of *Alva* would pass through that King-
‘ dom, he might; but for his Part, being already
‘ near *Bayonne*, he could not think of taking so great
‘ a Compass to join him.’

*The Duke of Al-
va besieges Pam-
peluna.*

In the mean time the Duke of *Alva* besieged *Pampeluna*, the Metropolis of *Navarre*, which surrendered on Capitulation the 25th of *July*, and the King of *Navarre* retired into *France*, whilst the Duke of *Alva* continued his Conquests; and the *English* Troops, without stirring from their Camp, served as a *Countenance** to his Designs; and indeed, though the *French*, who daily received fresh Supplies, saw themselves sufficiently strong to withstand the Duke of *Alva*, they dared not enter *Navarre*, for fear of falling between the *English* and *Spaniards*; therefore, the *English* remaining quietly encamped,† between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, the Duke of *Alva* subdued almost all *Navarre*.

Then it was that the Marquis of *Dorset* plainly perceived, that *Ferdinand* acted with Insincerity, and that his Design, from the very first, was not to invade *Guienne*, but to conquer *Navarre*; *Ferdinand* was as sensible his Artifice would not last long undiscovered, so, to prevent the Complaints the *English* General might make to his Sovereign, he sends an Express to *England*, to give *Henry* an Account of the Affairs of that Country, and to desire him to order his General to act in Concert with him. The King,
who

* We with our Forces, now in *Flanders*, may be something more than a *Countenance*.

† We have lately had many quiet *Encampments*.

who had received nothing to the contrary from the Marquis, readily sent *Windsor* Herald with the desired Orders to the General.

Whilst the Herald was on his Journey the Duke of *Alva* became Master of *St. Juan de pie del Puerto*, and, presently after the Taking that Place, *Ferdinand* acquainted the Marquis, that his Army was ready to march into *Guienne*, and desired him to join the Duke of *Alva* without delay, which he refused, being no longer to be deceived, well knowing, that the *French* Army was intrenched between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, with the River *Biadossou* in front, which he must have passed in View of the *French* Army, and that *Bayonne* was so well provided, there was no likelihood of besieging it.

However, *Ferdinand* made this Advantage of the Marquis's Refusal, he cast the whole Blame upon him of their not invading *Guienne*, according to the Treaty ; and his General continued his Exploits, laid Siege to *Estella*, the only Place remaining to the King of *Navarre*, and took it.

The Marquis, full of Indignation at these Proceedings, and vexed at his Army's daily weakning by Sickness and want of Provisions, desired *Ferdinand* to furnish him with Ships for their return to *England*, which with great Difficulty he obtained.

As the Army was going to embark, Orders came for its Stay, with a Promise of a new Supply under my Lord *Herbert*; these Orders were communicated to the Army, which were so disagreeably received, that they threatned, in case they were not permitted to return home, to massacre their Officers ; so that the General, finding the Disposition of his Army to be desperate, in order to prevent the fatal Consequences that might ensue, in case of a Mutiny, embarked with his Men, and sailed for *England*, where they in a short time arrived.

*The English Forces
return Home.*

Henry at first was angry with the Marquis, for not obeying his Orders; but, when the Case came to be represented in a true Light, he soon changed his Mind, and highly commended the Marquis of *Dorset's* Conduct, in quitting a Country, in which he had met with so much Treachery and ill Treatment. The Effect of this Expedition opened *Henry's* Eyes, and he fully saw his Father-in-law had deceived him; yet, for fear of giving *Ferdinand* a Pretence to join with *France*, and thereby leave him in Straits, thought proper to dissemble his real Sentiments, and pretend still to place the highest Confidence in him.

The Spaniards conquer all Navarre.

Before the Year was expired, *Ferdinand* found himself in full Possession of *Navarre*, tho' the King of *France* had used some Endeavours to wrest the Conquest out of his Hands, by sending some Forces to the King of *Navarre's* Assistance; but miscarrying in his Attempt against *Pampeluna*, the unhappy King was forced to abandon the rest of his Kingdom as a Prey to the *Spaniards*, who had no other Pretence for keeping it, than the late Bull from Pope *Julius*, with whom *Ferdinand* was now the greatest Favourite.

The English Fleet make a Descent in France.

Whilst *Ferdinand* was thus deceiving his Son-in-law by Land, Admiral *Howard* sailed to *Brittany* with twenty Men of War, where he took, burnt, and plundered several Towns and Villages, and laid waste and foraged best part of the Country; and, tho' the *French* took the Field with 10,000 Men, it no ways discouraged our gallant Admiral, who engaged them with 2500 Men, put them to Flight, and made a considerable Booty, with which his Forces returned laden to their Ships.

This Action so enraged the *French*, that they fitted out a Fleet of 39 Men of War, in order to scour their Coast of the *English*; upon which his Majesty sent

sent another Squadron to join Sir *Edward*, which was met by the *French* Fleet, and a furious Engagement ensued, in which the *English* Vice-Admiral plied the *French* Admiral so close, that he boarded him, but the cowardly desperate *French* set fire to their Ships, which blew up both the Admirals. However, this Action so terrified the *French*, that they made the best of their Way into *Brest* and other Ports, leaving the *English* Masters of the Sea.

The King hereon was more and more convinced of the great Use of the Navy to *England*; and we find that *Wolsey*, just now entring into the Ministry, took particular care of our Bulwarks at Sea, who at this time brought into Use the Building of large Ships of War, one of which was named *Henry Grace de Dieu*, of the greatest Burthen ever launched in *England*.

About this time the King's antient Palace of *Westminster*, and the Chapel in the Tower of *London* were destroyed by Fire.

Wolsey was closely employed in the Affairs of State, and continually transmitted the different Transactions to the Bishop of *Winchester*, some of which he was very much displeased with, which may be gathered from the following Extract.

Wolsey enters on his Ministry.

Wherein " he beseeches his Lordship; not to blame
" him, that he had not written to him; for, in
" Faith, says he, I could not till this Day, without
" sending half a Relation; but, as he had learnt some
" Particulars now, he thought proper to say something
" to his Lordship: And first as to the Affair of the
" Troops abroad, his Lordship, he did not doubt,
" had been informed by Letters from thence; how-
" beit, by the Marquis's Letters to me, I perceive, that
" your Lordship's old Saying is true, touching the
" Hardships the *English* Men can bear Abroad; but
" as they were to return home, tho' it would be a
" Hindrance of the Enterprize upon *Guienne*, yet it
" seemed

“ seemed to be a Proof of the King of *Spain's* Slack-
 “ nefs to join the *English*; and the more fo, because
 “ the Person, that the King sent over to excuse it,
 “ was full of Words, pretending the King of *Na-*
 “ *varre's* being our Enemy was attended with great
 “ Danger: But, as Affairs were now altered, he could
 “ promise that both Armies would immediately join,
 “ and go upon the Attack designed; and that the
 “ King his Master swears, he will never desist from
 “ the War, nor leave his Majesty, till such time as he
 “ hath obtained the Crown of *France* for him.” *Wolsey*
 much suspected these Protestations; and he was not
 out in his Suspicion: However, he goes on, and tells
 his Lordship, “ we have received lamentable Tidings
 “ of the Mischance that happened to our People at
 “ Sea, on *Tuesday* was Fortnight, when they met
 “ with twenty *French* Men of War, (the best pro-
 “ vided that any Ships ever were) and, after a
 “ desperate Engagement, the *Regent* boarded the *Car-*
 “ *rick* of *Brest*, wherein were four Lords, three hun-
 “ dred Gentlemen, eight hundred Soldiers and Sea-
 “ men, four hundred Cross Bow-men, one hundred
 “ Gunners, two hundred Tons of Wine, one hun-
 “ dred Pipes, sixty Barrels of Gunpowder, and other
 “ Ammunition equivalent. In this Action our Men
 “ acquitted themselves so well, that they killed most
 “ part of the Men within the Ship; but as they were
 “ striking, the *Carrick* was on fire, which was so en-
 “ tangled with the *Regent*, that, in less than three Hours,
 “ they were both burnt; and Sir *Thomas Knyvet*,
 “ who most valiantly acquitted himself on this Oc-
 “ casion, was killed by a Gun-shot; Sir *John Carew*
 “ and others likewise lost their Lives. My Lord,
 “ keep this secret, for no Man yet knows it here,
 “ save the King and myself. In short, you would
 “ marvel to see how wisely the King behaveth him-
 “ self; I have not seen the like; and thus, with hea-
 “ vy Heart, and sorrowful Pen, I conclude. From

“ *Farnbam,*

“ *Farnham*, the 26th of *August*, with the rude Hand
“ of your assured Chaplain.”

Postscript. “ The Residue of the *French Fleet*, on
“ being chased was put to Flight, and, like Cowards,
“ fled into *Brest Harbour*. Sir *Edward Howard* has
“ vowed to God, that he never will see the King’s
“ Face, till he has revenged the Death of that noble
“ and valiant Knight, Sir *Thomas Knyvet*.

By this Letter it appears, that Mr. *Wolsey* still retained the highest Respect for his old Patron, and that he was entrusted with the most secret Affairs, which soon introduced him to that wonderful Greatness, that every Thing seemed now to conspire to raise him to.

In *January*, the *Spaniards*, the *Venetians*,
and the *bold Troops* were all joined ready *Affairs of Italy.*
for Action ; the Viceroy of *Naples* was 1512.
made chief General, instead of the Pope, and the famous *Peter Navarro*, who conducted the *Spanish Troops* to *Italy*, General of the Infantry. At the Request of the Pope, tho’ contrary to their own Inclinations, the first Undertaking was the Siege of *Bologna*, and they made their Attack, and raised their Batteries on the side of *St. Stephen’s Gate* ; at the same Instant, *Navarro* ordering a Trench to be thrown up by the Gate of *Castiglione*, to set the Miners to work, they soon made a Breach in *St. Stephen’s Wall*, and was preparing to make a general Assault.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Nemours* had drawn up his Forces at *Finall*, upon the Frontiers of the *Milanese*, and set out from thence two Hours after Night, with 11,000 Foot, and 1300 Lances, arrived at *Bologna* in the Morning, and, under Covert of the Snow, that fell thick and in great Fleaks, he entered by the Gate of *St. Felix*, without being discovered by the Enemy ; and, had they immediately issued out of the Town, and fell on the Enemy, in all Probability they had entirely defeated them ; but the Troops were so much fatigued by their March,
that

that it was not thought prudent to put them upon Action, before they had had some rest. When the Enemy learned that the Duke was got safe into the Town, they were greatly surprized, and, fearing a Visit from him, they took the Advantage of the Night, and moved off their Artillery and Baggage, and before Day the whole Army was marched for *Imola*. In the Morning, when the Besieged looked out for the Besiegers, all was clear, and not a Soul of them to be seen; and so ended the Pope's first Project with his new Army.

Thus both the Enemies Army and *Bologna* were saved, after each of them to Appearance had escaped the greatest Danger; and this Siege was raised the beginning of *February*, after the Confederate Army had set down nineteen Days before the Town.

The Duke of *Nemours*, the Day he saw himself rid of his Enemies before *Bologna*, received the disagreeable News of *Brescia's* being surprized by the Proveditor, *Andrew Gritti*; but it was so well managed by the Inhabitants, when they saw the *Venetians* at hand, that the Governor, who had but a small Body of Soldiers with him, was glad to escape the Fury of the Town's People, and shut himself up in the Castle, from whence he sent the Duke the Account of his Misfortune.

Bologna was near forty Miles distant from *Brescia*, and the Way to it was over several Rivers, and some of them very difficult to pass, yet the Duke's Soldiers shewed their readiness to attend him, which he looking on as a good Presage of the Success of his Enterprize, without more to do he set out with his Army, leaving a sufficient Force under the Command of *Lautrec*, (now become an Officer of considerable Note, and at last had the chief Command of an Army) the Duke marched no less than thirty *Italian* Miles in one Day, and, meeting with *Baglione*, one of the *Venetian* Generals, who was carrying a large Reinforcement to their new gotten Town, the Chevalier *Bayard*, by Order of the

the Duke, fell upon him, and entirely defeated him. This News as much encouraged the Governor in the Castle, as it discouraged the Enemy, and shortly after the Duke of *Nemours* arrived at the Castle, and entered on the side next the Country.

He gave his Army one Day's rest, and the next Morning he attacked the Enemy, and, after an obstinate Defence, forced their Trenches, and, in a second Engagement recovered the Town; but the Fight was so bloody, that, according to the *Italian* Historians, no less than eight thousand *Venetians* perished in the several Combats, and the *French* lost several brave Men; the Proveditor, *Andrew Gritti*, was taken Prisoner; *Borgamo*, and other Towns that had revolted to the *Venetians*, sued for Pardon, which was granted, and they returned to their former Obedience.

The Duke of *Nemours*, having performed so many glorious Actions in less than fifteen Days, was reputed one of the most enterprising Generals of his Time; and, as the Allies still kept their Army in the Field, he resolved to go in Pursuit of them, in order to come to a decisive Battle. He drew his Army together at *Finall*, which consisted of 18,000 Foot, a numerous Body of Gendarms, and some Light-horse; he made several Marches, and Counter-marches, in order to draw the Enemy to an Engagement, but they carefully avoided it. At last he besieged *Ravenna*, believing the Pope would not suffer this Place to be taken without endeavouring to succour it, and he was not mistaken in his Opinion; for his Army had no sooner attacked the Town, than the Confederates came up to its Relief, and approached so near the Duke of *Nemours's* Camp, that both Armies cannonaded each other briskly; but *Peter Navarro* was strongly intrenched, and with his Cannon destroyed above 2000 of the *French*, who nevertheless sustained the Fire above three Hours; and the Duke of *Ne-*

*The Battle of
Ravenna.*

Nemours Cannon also made great Havock among the Enemy.

The Viceroy, (nick-named by the Pope *Madam Cardone*) seeing the Fury of the Engagement, run away, and so great was his Fear, that he did not stop till he had got near ninety Miles from the Field of Battle. *Carvail*, who commanded the Enemy's Rear, took likewise to his Heels, but was followed so closely by the Chevalier *Bayard*, that he dispersed the Enemy, and took the Marquis *de Pescara* Prisoner, covered o-
ver with Wounds, received in endeavouring to rally the Run-aways.

Victory now seemed secured to the Duke of *Nemours*, and nothing remained but the Intrenchments of Count *Navarro* to be forced, upon which ensued a long and bloody Engagement, he having ranged his Men in Battalia armed with Pikes, who defended themselves with great Resolution; but at last the *Spanish* Infantry was entirely defeated with a very great Slaughter, and the valiant *Navarro* was taken Prisoner and sent into *France*. But what followed proved fatal to the *French*: There remained only one Regiment of the *Spaniards* that withdrew in good Order, whose Escape, intrepid *Nemours*, could not bare the Thoughts of; therefore, not giving himself Time to encompass them, marched at the Head of a few Gend-arms, in order to break through them; but the *Spaniards*, in this desperate Case, faced about, and presented their Pikes; and *Nemours*, rashly venturing to cross their Ranks, met with his unhappy Destiny by a Thrust into his Side, accompanied with
The Duke of Nemours killed. fourteen other Wounds, of which he immediately died, and gallant *Lautrec* received twenty in defending him, tho' none of them proved mortal.

Thus this noble Duke was buried in his Victory, having in less than three Months performed such great Exploits, as to entitle him to a Seat among the celebrated Heroes, by the distinguishable Name of the *Thunderbolt* of *Italy*.

We cannot sum up this young Martial Prince's Character in so fit Language as that in the following Lines; from Mr. Addison's *Compaigne* :

*The Hero's Breast still swells with great Designs,
In ev'ry Thought the tow'ring Genius shines :
If to the Foe his dreadful Course he bends,
O'er the wide Continent his March extends :
If Sieges in his lab'ring Thoughts are form'd,
Camps are assaulted, and an Army storm'd :
If to the Fight his active Soul is bent,
The Fate of Empires turn on it's Event.
A thousand glorious Actions, that might claim
Triumphant Laurels and Immortal Fame,
Confus'd in Crouds of glorious Actions lie,
And Troops of Heroes undistinguish'd die.
O NEMOURS ! how can I behold thy Fate,
And not the Wonders of thy Youth relate !
How can I see the Gay, the Brave, the Young,
Fall in the Cloud of War, and lie unsung !
In Joys of Conquest he resigns his Breath,
And, fill'd with lasting Glory, smiles in Death.*

The Battle lasted near eight Hours ; the *French* and *Spanish* Historians differ very much as to the Number slain on both Sides ; *Guicciardin* says; there perished 10,000, of whom two thirds were *Spaniards*. In short, the Victory had been quite compleat had not the *French* lost their General ; for *Ravenna* and all the Fortresses of *Romagna* surrendered to them, and Possession given to Cardinal *St. Severin* ; (except the Citadel of *Imola* and *Forli*) the *French* also took several Prisoners of Note, among whom was his Holiness's Legate, Cardinal *John de Medicis*; and sent him to *Milan*.

*And Cardinal
Medicis taken
Prisoner.*

Upon Duke *Nemours's* Catastrophe, *la Palisse*, an Officer of great Experience, was prevailed on by the

*La Palisse made
General of the
French Army.*

other Generals, to accept the Command in Chief : And, as he was unacquainted with the King's Intentions, and had received Intimation from *Trivulca*, that the *Swiss* were preparing to enter the *Milanese*, returned to *Milan* with the greatest Part of his Forces, leaving 6000 Men, under the Command of Cardinal *St. Severin*, to secure the Towns in *Romagna*. On his Arrival there, as *France* was threatened with an Invasion from *England* and *Spain*, the King sent him Orders, to cause the greatest Part of his Gendarms to repass the *Alps* ; so that this General had not above 10,000 Infantry and 1300 Horse left, at a time when the whole Force of the Kingdom would not have been too much, to sustain the Shock that soon after followed.

The News of the Battle of *Ravenna* made very different Impressions in the Courts of *Europe*, particularly at *Venice* and *Rome*, who received it with the utmost Consternation, looking upon themselves to be entirely at the Mercy of the Conquerors ; and the *Venetians* was at first for coming to any Terms with the *French*, but the *Spanish* Ambassador prevented it by representing, that, notwithstanding their late Victory, the *French* were in no Condition to undertake any further Enterprize, and that his Master was sending to *Italy* a fresh Supply of Troops. At *Rome* the Cardinals run to the Pope, to conjure him not to delay making Peace with *France*, which through fear he seemed inclinable to ; but when he heard *la Palisse* was marched with the Army for *Milan*, he recovered his Courage, and declared he would not depart from the League, raised new Forces, made great Preparations for holding the General Council, which was soon to meet at the *Lateran*.

The Lateran Council opened.

On the 3d of *May* the *Lateran* Council was held at *Rome*, and was much more numerous than that held in *France*, and here the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Rocheſter*, with

a Prior and Abbot, assisted on the Part of the *English* Clergy : Besides, *Henry* was so zealous for the Pope, that he granted a Commission, executed at *Westminster* the 1st of *April*, 1512, to the said Bishop of *Worcester*, and Sir *Robert Wingfield*, to constitute them Ambassadors to assist at this Council ; Part of which Commission runs as follows : “ And there to
“ confer, treat, and conclude for us, and our King-
“ dom, and in our Name, of and concerning all
“ and singular the Articles, which may be judged
“ necessary for the Welfare of the whole Catholick
“ Church, and for the Reformation thereof, as well
“ in the Head as in the Members, &c.” Lord *Herbert* observes, that this Clause was only to blind the Publick, because nothing could be further from the Pope’s Thoughts, than to set this Council upon a *Reformation*, either of himself or the Church ; but, to attend the Proceedings of the Council,

Herein the different Sentences of Excommunication were confirmed, as well against the Authors as Actors in the Council of *Pisa*, and the Acts of that Council reversed.

In a Letter from Cardinal *Baynbridge* to the King, that Prelate gives his Majesty an Account of what passed in the Council of *Lateran* against the Schismatics, and of the private Conversation he had with his Holiness, in relation to the Cardinals that had deserted him ; and he therein informs his Majesty, “ That what the Pope had done was to
“ make them ashamed of their Actions ; though his
“ Holiness was determined to restore them, yet it
“ should be done in the Method to humble them.”

By the Return of the *French* to *Milan* the Pope (who just before was in the late King *Charles* the 1st of *England*’s Condition, when he used these Words, *Qui jaceat Humi, non habet, unde cadet*) was soon become the Favourite of Fortune ; for now, instead of suing for Peace with *France* he renewed his Ex-
commu-

communication against *Lewis*, and again put *France* under an Interdict.

Lewis was so enraged at this Treatment, that he caused Medals to be struck with the following Inscription, *Perdam Babylonem*, which proves *Rome* was not first called *Babylon* by *Protestants*.

The Pope's Pretence, for excommunicating *Lewis* at this time was, for that he detained Cardinal *Medici*, his Legate, at *Milan*; who, tho' a Prisoner, exercised his Legateship, the Inhabitants of *Milan* refusing to own the Authority of *Lewis's* Council, to his no small Mortification; though this was but trifling to the Misfortunes that ensued. After *la Palisse* had quitted *la Romagna* several of the Towns in that Country submitted to the Pope; at the same time *Ferdinand* became Master of *Navarre*; and *Lewis* was forced to send an Army into *Bearne*, to hinder the *English* and *Spaniards* from invading *Guienne*; and the Emperor concluded a Truce with *Venice*, secretly promising to withdraw from the *French* Army a Body of *German* Troops, sent for the Defence of the *Milanese*; though upon the Assurance of this Aid it was, that *Lewis* recalled from *Milan* Part of his own Troops; where, *la Palisse* finding himself much weakned, was obliged to recal the Cardinal of *St. Severin* with his Troops, the Consequence of which was the Loss of all *la Romagna*.

What made the *French* Affairs still worse was, the *Swiss* continued highly enraged against them, and were waiting for an Opportunity to take a Revenge for their former Affront: And the Pope in his Distress having renewed his Sollicitation to those brave

*The Swiss bold
a Parliament.*

People for Assistance, it occasioned among them several Meetings in Parliament, to consider what was proper to be done. Some in this Assembly took Notice, that the *French* King was not contented with refusing to
increase

encrease their Pensions, but had used Words full of Reproach, by despising and rejecting them as Villains.*

It was also remarked, that *Lewis* had began to take the Footmen of the Lance-knights into his Pay, to shew the Contempt he had of their Nation, and even proceeded so far as to persuade himself

* The *Switzers* are called, in ancient History, *Helvetians*, and inhabit the high Mountains of *Jura*, named *St. Claude*, *St. Bridget*, and *St. Godat*; a People naturally rude, but valiant in War: Their Country is more used in Grazing than Tillage: They were formerly under the Subjection of the Duke of *Austria*, whose Jurisdiction they shook off some hundred Years ago, *Guicciardin* relates, "That they have
" a Policy and Government of
" their own Coining, without
" any Dependance or Relation to Emperors, Kings, or
" Princes of any kind; and they
" are divided into thirteen Comonalties, which they call
" *Cantons*, every one of which
" is governed by Magistrates,
" Laws, and Ordinances peculiar to itself. They hold a
" *Parliament* every Year, or oftener, if Necessity requires it,
" which is not always held at
" one Place, but as best pleaseth
" the Deputy of every Canton.
" When they agree to raise Soldiers for any Prince, the Cantons chuse among themselves
" a Captain General, to whom
" they give the Banner with the
" Ensign, and their strict Unity, with the Glory of their
" Arms, hath made them renowned throughout the whole

World. In their Personage
" they bear a Presence rude,
" and in their Behaviour and
" Conversation hold more of Incivility than Comeliness. This
" Desire of Gain makes them
" pursue the Use of Arms, and
" they serve no longer than
" whilst the Prince, or State in
" whose Service they are, punctually pays them, but are
" noted for their Fidelity to
" those who do.

" Somewhat below the *Switzers* are certain Towns and
" Villages, inhabited by a People called *Valley-men*; they
" are inferior to the *Switzers* in Number, Authority, Valour, and every other Disposition: But still lower than
" they are another People, called *Grisons*, which are divided into three *Cantons*, called
" the Lords of the *Three Leagues*; their Capital Town is called
" *Coire*; they often associate
" with the *Switzers*, and with
" them go commonly to the
" Wars; they have almost the
" same Policy and Laws; pretty
" nigh the same in Constitution,
" Manners, Customs, Arms, and
" Valour, and are preferred before the *Valley-men*, but hold
" no Comparison with the *Switzers*, either in Number, Policy, or Virtue."

self, that their People would die in their Mountains of Idleness, and famish for Want of his Pay, which induced them to express to all the World, how much he was deceived in his vain Thoughts, and that his Ingratitude was only hurtful to himself, and thereby Evidence that nothing could stay Men of War from shewing their Valour for such Men, the Use of Gold and Silver was made for: *Lastly*, that it was necessary to convince the World, how indiscreet the *French* King was, to prefer the Lance-knights Footmen to the *Switzers*.

These Observations had the desired Effect upon these People; they one and all declared for the Cause of the Pope, as if it had been their own; without more ado they departed from their Houses, with only one Florin a Man, whereas they were not used to march for the Service of the *French* King without Money in Hand, and Promises of Presents among their Captains: And, tho' his Holiness demanded no more than 6000, yet no less than 16,000 voluntarily began their March about the end of *August*. Instead of taking their direct Road to the *Milanese*, the Passes whereof they did not Question were strongly guarded, they marched to *Trent*, where *Maximilian* received them, tho' this was an Enemy's Act; but as he had not yet declared against *France*, he was desirous to hide his Intentions, by telling the *French* Ambassadot, that his Alliance with the *Switzers* suffered him not to deny them a Passage through his Dominions, as if his Treaty with *Lewis* the XIIth was to be less observed, than that with the *Switzers*.

In short, he suffered them to pass unmolested thro' *Trent*, (which ruined all *Lewis's* Affairs in *Italy*) and they soon proceeded to *Verona*, where they were joined by the *Venetians*, who marched in Conjunction towards *Milan*: Whereupon the *French* (who, a little Time before, had been deserted by the *Germans*, under Pretence of their returning home,) had not above 10,000

Men, which rendered them wholly unprovided to engage the Enemy, and had nothing to do but to put those Forces into the fortified Towns, in order to waste the Enemy's Army by Sieges, till the King sent them Supplies, or the approaching Winter stopt the Progress of these desperate Enemies; but they found that would not do, and *la Palisse*, despairing to save the *Milanese*, resolved to repass the Mountains, and retire into *France*.

This Accident fell out luckily for the Cardinal *de Medici*, whom they would have carried with them: His Preservation seems to be chiefly owing to the following Tumult: As they were conducting him into *France*, the Morning he entered the Bark at the Passage of *Pace*, certain Peasants of the Village murmured greatly at the Treatment the Cardinal met with, and one *Reignold de Lalle*, accompanied with several of the Cardinal's Friends, rose in Arms, and rescued him out of their Hands. *Guicciardin* observes on this Occasion, " That they, whom many Adversities had
" made fearless of all Accidents, hearing the Noise
" of a Tumult, which they were afraid to endeavour to suppress, were the more careful to fly than
" to fight, and to lose that Prisoner by Cowardice,
" whom they had won in Danger of Battle." In short, that may be applied to these greatly intimidated *Frenchmen*, which *Horace* says of the vicious Man,

Post Equitem, sed & atra cura.

for Fear urged on their Flight, and no Hopes of Safety could they conceive, but upon their Arrival in *France*.

After the *French* were thus fled, many Towns of the *Dutchy* readily surrendered to the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, and *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio* submitted to the Pope. On the other hand, *Alexander Bentivoglio*, not thinking himself safe in *Bologna*,
VOL. II. T departed

departed from thence with all his Family, leaving the City to the Pope's Mercy : Thus *Julius* the 2^d, who once conceived himself at the Brink of Destruction, was arrived at the Height of his Wishes. By this surprizing Revolution *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, all *la Romagna*, were restored to the Church, and the *French* drove out of *Italy* without striking a Stroke : Inasmuch, that the *French* had nothing left there, save the Castle of *Milan*, and Town of *Crimona* ; in the first of which *Chevalier de Louvain* was Commander, and in the latter *James de Aerbonville* Governor, both which maintained their Posts, and defended themselves against their Enemies with great Bravery.

There remained still four Things for his Holiness to do to compleat his Happiness ; namely, to dispossess the Duke of *Ferrara*, to restore the *Sforza's* to *Milan*, the *Medici* to *Florence* ; and lastly, to expel the *Germans* and *Spaniards* out of *Italy*.

Upon this extraordinary Event *Guicciardin* makes the following Remark, " Conquest draweth with it " Ambition, Insolence, and Covetousness ; and with " Men triumphing in Victory all Things seem to " hold of Equity : That the *Switzers*, being Masters of the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Piemont*, studied " to make the most of the whole Country, by Taxes " and excessive Rates, being assured the *French* could " not possibly return this Year ; for, tho' *Lewis* was " very uneasy at the Loss of the Dutchy of *Milan*, " yet Necessity compelled him to hearken to the " Councils of such as advised him to defer the Thoughts " of returning thither for the present, and employ " his Forces to defend his own Country.

When the *French* had quitted *Italy*, the
A Meeting at Mantua. Allies met several times at *Mantua*, where they could agree but upon two Articles : *First*, That *Maximilian Sforza*, eldest Son of *Ludovic* the Moor, should be restored to *Milan* ; *secondly*, and the House of *Medici* to *Florence* : In Consequence of the

the last, the Army of the Allies, approaching *Florence*, compelled the *Florentines* to consent to a Treaty, whereby it was agreed, the *Medici* should enjoy their Country again as Citizens only, not as Governors. But Cardinal *de Medici*, entering the City by Vertue of the Treaty, whilst the Army of the Allies were at the Gates, found Means to introduce many Officers and Soldiers, and raised a Party that answered his Designs; for shortly after he got the Government settled upon the same Foot as it was before their Banishment, in the Reign of *Charles* the VIIIth: And, pursuant to the first Part of the Agreement, in the Month of *November*, *Maximilian Sforza* was put in Possession of the Dut-
chy of *Milan*.

The Medici restored to Florence.

Maximilian Sforza restored to Milan.

It was a great Step for the Pope to have the *Medici* restored to *Florence*, and *Sforza* to *Milan*, but this did not content him, the Duke of *Ferrara* was still Master of his Dutchy, and the Council of *Pisa* sitting at *Lyons*, great Grievances to his righteous Soul! therefore, he now, as ardently as ever, laboured to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, that *Maximilian* might without Difficulty abandon both *France* and the Council of *Pisa*; to that Purpose the Pontiff obtained a second Meeting at *Rome*, but found so many Difficulties, that all of a sudden he concluded with the Emperor a League offensive and defensive against *Venice*: Whereby the latter engaged, "to become a principal

The Emperor and the Pope join against Venice.

"Party in the League of *Rome*, and agreed that the Pope should keep *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio*, saving, however, the Right of the Empire; promised to renounce the Council of *Pisa*, and forsake the Duke of *Ferrara* and the *Bentivoglio*." The Pope engaged on his Part, "to aid the Emperor with all his Power, to throw out his Censures against

"the *Venetians*, and declare them excluded the
 "League of *Rome*."

Upon signing and ratifying this Treaty, the Bishop of *Gurck*, as the Emperor's Lieutenant, renounced, in the next Session of the Council of *Lateran*, the Assembly of *Pisa*, and revoked whatever had been done by his Master towards calling and supporting it.

Maximilian had as little Sincerity and Gratitude as *Ferdinand*. *Lewis* assisted him to conquer some Places in *Italy*, after the League of *Cambray*; yet no sooner was *Lewis* upon the Decline, but he deserted him; nay, he even helped to hurl him down the Precipice.

This Quarrel between the Pope and the *Venetians* took up so much of *Julius's* Time the latter Part of this Year, that it kept him from falling upon the Duke of *Ferrara*, as he intended, who had made the King of *Spain* his Friend, and, before the Pope could put his Designs against this Prince in Execution, he made his final Exit.

The extraordinary Changes, that happened this Year, in *Italy* and *Navarre*, are Events which will not soon be obliterated in Record: But what were they owing to? why chiefly to *Lewis's* being such a Devotee to his Queen's *Superstition*, *Caresses*, *Intrigues*, and *Importunities*, powerful Influences! * which frequently disarmed him, and cooled his Courage, when he should have most exerted himself; particularly, after the Battle of *Ravenna*, when *Julius* the 11d was upon the Point of leaving *Rome*, and he had certainly abandoned it, if *Lewis* had not suffered himself to be

* These are the *Charms* that, according to all Report, have equally prevailed in *Spain* for these several Years, (to the no small Damage of that opulent

Kingdom) which, and those of the *French* Cardinal, we presume, their Posterity will have sufficient Cause to remember; and which, perhaps, we shall not soon forget.

be enchanted by the aforesaid *Charms*. Nothing, surely, is so capable of stopping an Arm, ready to lay an Enemy under Foot, or reaching to gather the Fruits of an important Victory, as the Artifice or Bigotry of a *Wife's Confessor*. It was said indeed, once *Lewis* imposed Silence upon his Wife, who continually importuned him about the Council of *Pisa*: *What, Madam*, said he, *do you think that you are wiser than so many famous Universities, who approved the Council of Pisa? Did not your Confessor tell you, that Women are to be silent in the Church?* But what could it signify to say this once to a Woman so tenderly beloved by her Husband, as *Ann of Britanny* was? who would not be discouraged at three or four Refusals; she still returns to the Charge, till her Demands are granted. These are Birds of the Bed, or the Night, whose Warbling, it is much to be feared, will still persuade sooner or later: And we have not been without some Instances of it at Home. In short, this conscientious Religious Queen would never let poor *Lewis* rest, till she carried her Point, and forced her Husband meanly to submit to whatever the Court of *Rome* required; whose chief Ruler made *Religion* subservient to his inordinate Ambition, under the Pretence of maintaing the *Glory of God* and the *Good of the Church*.

And though *Henry* joined in the League with the Pope and *Ferdinand*, and made good his Engagements, yet, as soon as their Affairs began to mend, they took no more Notice of him, than if he had dwelt in the Moon; for, when they thought the King of *England* could be no longer useful to them, they immediately deserted him.

Henry, though intirely satisfied, that his crafty Father-in-Law had deceived him, was again induced to treat with *Ferdinand*, at the Instigation of several Princes in Alliance against *France*, who strongly solicited our Prince

*Affairs of Eng-
land.*

1512.

Prince not to fall into *Lewis's* Measures, assuring him, that, as they had nothing to fear in *Italy*; they would join all their Forces to invade *France*, in order to assist him in recovering *Guicenne* and *Normandy*, which he so much desired: Therefore his Majesty sent Ambassadors to *Brussels*, where he entered into a League with the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and *Charles* of *Austria*; to carry on a War against *France* the ensuing Year; and also signed the Treaty that had been concluded at *Rome* the Year before.

A new Alliance.

The King of *England* imagined the Intention of this Treaty would have been executed forthwith, but he was mistaken; for *Julius*, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand*, were far from designing what he expected: On the contrary, they only took the Advantage of *Henry's* Youth, by pretending to be zealous for him, in order to make him dip into *Henry* the VIIIth's Hoards.

As *Henry* was still big with making Conquests in *France* he again this Year called his Parliament, in order to get a further Supply from them.

On the 4th of *November* the Parliament met, and the King managed Matters so well with the *Commons*, that, without many Meetings and Debates among themselves, they granted him a new Subsidy, and a Poll-tax upon all his Subjects, viz. * the Fifteenths and four Demys.

Proceedings of the third Parliament.

The

* A *Fifteenth* is the Tax of Money upon a Borough, or other Town, thro' the Kingdom, which amounts to a fifteenth Part of that which the City or Town had been valued at of old; and therefore every one knew what their Fifteenth came to. Whereas a *Subsidy* was raised upon every Man's Goods, or Lands, which made it uncertain how much the Subsidy would amount to, because every Man's Estate is uncertain; for which they made the following Regulation, viz. Every Duke was to pay ten Marks, an Earl five, a Lord four, a Knight four; every Man, whose Effects were valued at 800 l. was allotted to pay four; and so down to a Servant, who, having 40 s. a Year, was to pay 12 d. and every one above 15 s. a Year, 4 d.

The Pope, to encourage *Henry* to invade *France*, sent over, while the Parliament was Sitting, a *Ple-nary Indulgence* to all *Henry's* Subjects, who should aid him with their Persons or Purfes therein.

After the King had obtained what he desired from his Parliament, and they had passed the under-written Acts,* they broke up: And his Majesty, having renewed his Alliance with his good Father-in-law, heartily set to making fresh Preparations of War.

As *Wolsey* was now become greatly in Favour with the King, he was intrusted by his Majesty to assist in those Preparations, by which we shall presently see *Wolsey* gained still more Reputation, who, as well in this Trust as in all others neglected nothing that he thought capable of increasing the King's good Opinion of him, and his indefatigable Application so evidently appeared to his Majesty, that he was highly pleased with it, and the more so, because he saw in his Court and Council a Churchman less rigid and scrupulous than some of his old Counsellors had been: This, joined with his other Talents for Business, and his extensive Knowledge in Divinity, was the Means of his getting the Advantage over all the other Courtiers; on which Monsieur *Rapin* breaks out as follows:

“ When

* I. To take away the Benefit of the Clergy from all such as commit Murder, or Felony, in any Church, or Chapel, or hallowed Place, or in the King's High-way; or rob or murder any Person in his House, the Owner of the House, his Wife, Child, or Servant, then being therein, and put in Fear or Dread by the same.

II. To provide a Remedy for the Recovery of Issues forfeited by Juries in *London*.

III. That no Fee shall be taken for Sealing Cloth of Gold,

Silver, Velvet, &c., nor shall the Merchant be delayed, under the Penalty of 40 s.

IV. A further Act to enforce the 19th of *Henry* the VIIth, as to the Goodness of Pewter and Brass, and directing not only in what Places it shall be sold or changed, but the Maker to put his Mark to them, with a Penalty if he uses false Beams or Weights, and empowering the Master and Wardens of the *Pewterer's* Company and others, to appoint Searchers for the Purposes in the Act mentioned,

*Rapin's Remarks
on Wolsey's Con-
duct.*

" When he saw himself well fixed,
" he made it his particular Business
" to show the King his Errors since
" his Accession to the Throne, and how his Youth
" had been abused; by this Method he insinuated
" to him by degrees, that he was ill served, and
" wanted an able Minister, capable of easing him
" in the Administration of the most weighty Af-
" fairs, and of showing him the Consequences. In
" a Word, he so managed, that he became himself
" the Minister which he advised the King to seek;
" and by degrees was intrusted with the Care and
" Conduct of the King's principal Affairs: his Cre-
" dit rendered him *haughty, proud, insolent*, and
" *ungrateful* to his old Friends: In short, he was
" taxed with *all the Failings* of this Nature which
" Favourites are usually charged with, and which in-
" deed few Favourites can avoid. *Wolsey*, like most
" others, grew extremely *odious*, chiefly because his
" Counsels were *self-interested*, which the Event dis-
" covered to all but the King, who was blind in
" that Respect; his Favour and Credit caused the
" most potent Princes of *Europe* to *strive to gain*
" him to their Interests, and *glory'd*; at least outwardly,
" in being of the Number of *his Friends*. The Rea-
" son is, because, during this Reign, the Affairs of
" *Europe* were in such a Situation, that *England* was
" capable of making the *Ballance* to *incline* to the
" Side she espoused. *Wolsey* knew how to improve
" this Advantage, to render himself the richest and
" most powerful Subject that ever was; but labour-
" ed not with the same Ardour for his *Master's Ho-*
" *nour*, as for his own Interest. After he was declared
" Prime Minister he managed during the Space of
" 17 Years all the King's Affairs both Foreign and
" Domestick."

Monfieur *Rapin* has not yet given us one Proof in
support of the hard Part of this Character, which

is absolutely contradictory to the other. The Reader must not therefore be surprized to find all his other Reflections on this Minister worked up in the same Manner; which, however, we shall take the Liberty to examine, as we proceed in our History.

Lord *Herbert* observes, "That, the King being young and much given to his Pleasure, some advised him to have Recourse to his Council for Instructions, how to govern his Kingdom; but *Wolsey* told the King, that he should sometimes follow his Studies, and sometimes take his Pleasure, and that it was wrong to meddle with old Men's Cares before it was proper so to do, seeing there was not wanting a Person to recite to his Majesty the Effect of a whole Day's Consultation in Council; which Advice so pleased the King, that *Wolsey* soon attained the Height of Favour; for as Princes have Arts to govern Kingdoms, Courtiers have those by which they govern their Sovereigns, especially, when through any Indisposition they grow unapt for governing themselves."

Lord Herbert's Observations.

Lord *Herbert* mentions a Speech *Wolsey* made to the King, relating to his employing a Prime Minister, which the Reader will please to take in his Lordship's Words.

"Sir, Your Highness hath now sufficient Experience of strange Effects which Contradictions of Councils bring forth. It is unsafe to believe singly either of those on whose Advice your Highness most relies, and impossible to believe both; may your Highness therefore chuse some one, who, being disinterested, may have no Passion or Thought but to serve your Highness. All those Reasons of State, which conclude Monarchy to be the best Form of Government, make for a Favourite in the next Place; inasmuch that of *supreme Authority*

Wolsey's Speech to the King.

" rity, as of those pyramidal Heights, on which the
 " Statues of Princes were antiently placed, I dare say,
 " there can be none well raised, that, from the lowest
 " Foundation, is not shapened by degrees into its
 " Point: But, lest this should be thought looking up-
 " wards only, be pleased a while to look down, and
 " consider Things the other Way, and Prospective will
 " hold its Proportion; for how, Sir, should a King
 " preserve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at
 " once on divers inferior Persons? Believe me, Sir,
 " to diffuse it over suddenly, is to take away not on-
 " ly from the Dignity, but even Entireness of it, it
 " being with Authority as with a Spring or Foun-
 " tain, which, that it may keep its Course and Name,
 " must be cherished and entertained, till it grow
 " great by the Contributions and Concurrences of
 " those lesser Heads that run into it. Kings must ne-
 " ver descend but by Steps: The more Orders are un-
 " der the higher still they stand; neither will your
 " other Council think themselves much lessened this
 " Way; for, when they may use the ordinary Sway
 " allowed them over their Inferiors, they will not
 " think themselves much concerned for the rest. Be-
 " sides, your People will be glad of it, as knowing
 " which way to address their Suits; to leave them
 " more at large, were to expose them to those De-
 " lays and Uncertainties they would never patiently
 " endure. Again, it would be impossible any other
 " way to keep Secrecy in Business, (which yet is the
 " Life of Council) or almost to find out who is the
 " Divulger. Moreover, if your Highness would not
 " seem to have Advice proceed from you, how easy
 " may your Highness disavow all, and lay the Fault
 " on him. Thus may your Highness find the many
 " Uses you may make of your Favourite; yet, Sir,
 " let me say, I shall never advise your Highness to
 " see by his Eyes, or hear by his Ears only; this
 " were to keep you in too much Darkness and Sub-
 " jection;

“ jection : To prevent this therefore, be pleased to ap-
 “ point able Persons, and such as may not know
 “ each other, by whom your Highness may be in-
 “ formed not only what is done, but even said vul-
 “ garly : Thus shall your Highness take Order not
 “ to be deceived. As for the more intricate and
 “ doubtful Parts of Business, which require par-
 “ ticular Scrutiny and Examination, your Highness
 “ may do well, in my Opinion, to have three or four
 “ confident Persons, not yet of the Body of your
 “ Council, with whom separately you may advise,
 “ before those Difficulties may be brought into
 “ them.

“ This will enable you to speak thereof when you
 “ transfer it to the Body of your Council, and make
 “ you discern their Opinions only. If any thing be
 “ determined, let your Favourite be the chief Actor
 “ in the Execution thereof: Then your Highness
 “ may please to advise, neither will I presume to
 “ nominate myself; otherwise only I will crave Leave
 “ to say thus much, that when your Highness will,
 “ out of your own Election, think fit to use my
 “ Service herein, I doubt not but so to establish and
 “ conserve your Highness's Authority, as to make
 “ you the greatest and happiest Prince living, neither
 “ shall I fear to fall when any Benefit to your Majesty
 “ will grow thereby.”

His Lordship adds further, that this Speech so far
 prevailed on the King, that, without any other Ad-
 vice or Consideration, he ordered *Wolsey* to dispatch
 his chiefest Affairs.

The learned Mr. *Collier*, in his Ac-
 count of *Wolsey*, upon the King's first
 coming to the Crown, says, “ That,
 “ tho' he indulged the King in his Humour, yet he
 “ reminded him of Business, and particularly en-
 “ deavoured to make him sensible, what Advantage
 “ Trade and Navigation was to his Kingdom; which

*Mr. Collier's Ac-
 count of Wolsey.*

“induced the King, in his youthful Days, to be very
 “Attentive in that respect, both in giving his Sub-
 “jects Letters of Safe-conduct, and, in case they sus-
 “tained any Damage by Foreigners, in demanding
 “Satisfaction; and, if that was not to be had, to
 “repel Force by Force.”

Polidor Virgil's Account of Wolsey. *Wolsey's* inveterate Enemy, *Polidor Virgil*, (and for what Reason he was so we shall hereafter mention) relates,

“That *Wolsey* was of such a gay, fa-
 “cetious Temper, that he could suit his Humour to
 “the King's, so as to make it agreeable to the Le-
 “vity and Passion of Youth; and, that *Wolsey* would
 “sing, laugh, dance, and play with the young Cour-
 “tiers, who were most in Favour with the King.”

And this *Polidor*, and the Historians that have
 danced after his Pipe, carry *Wolsey's* Behaviour much
 farther; tho', even *Polidor* himself, Page 19, con-
 fesses, “That, after a Share of the Publick Business
 “was devolved by the King on *Wolsey*, his Majesty,
 “tho' in that respect disengaged and at Liberty, being
 “well-disposed, instructed, and formed for Empire,
 “did not wholly neglect his Duty; but, that he
 “might employ his Time both commendably and
 “to Advantage, applied himself to the Study of
 “good Literature; sometimes at his Leisure Hours
 “with Musick, at other times with Divinity, and
 “this he did by the Advice of *Wolsey*.”

But another Author says, “After *Wolsey* sensibly
 “found he grew greatly in the King's Favour, the
 “use he made of it was to shew the King the Er-
 “rors he had committed, since his Accession to the
 “Throne, and wherein he had mispent his Time.
 “These Remonstrances the King, tho' young, re-
 “ceived very kindly, judging it proceeded from
 “the Passion *Wolsey* had for his Glory and
 “Honour.”

Something

Something may be offered in Defence of *Wolsey's* Advice to the King, upon his first Accession to the Throne, that, neglecting State-affairs, and trusting them to his Administration, he should follow his Studies and his Pleasure, provided they were such as he might innocently follow, and without any Diminution of his Royal Character. *Wolsey* observed, that his Majesty was of a resolute Temper, very tenacious of the first Impressions he had received, impatient of all Opposition; yet, if we may judge from the great Success and Glory of his Reign, while the Affairs of it were directed by *Wolsey*, and from the many and great Disorders that happened after his Disgrace, when the King took the Reins of Government into his own Hands, his early Advice was well grounded.

*Reflections there-
on.*

As soon as it was known at *Rome*, that Mr. *Wolsey*, the King's Almoner, had highly gained his Master's Esteem, the Pope did not forget to shew his Respect for this rising Minister, nor were his Majesty's Ambassadors Abroad behind-hand in courting his Friendship; and we find particularly a Letter to *Wolsey* from Archbishop *Baynbridge*, wherein he calls him his *right, intire, beloved Brother in Christ*, and requests *his kind and loving Mind to him and his Causes*; and there are other Expressions in the Letter whereby it fully appears, that *Wolsey* had now a considerable Weight at Court, and was capable of doing his Friends Service with the King.

This Year Mr. *Wolsey* was made Dean of *Hereford*, and Chancellor of the most noble Order of the Garter.

*Wolsey's fur-
ther Preferment.*

His Majesty also was pleased to appoint Dr. *Blythe*, Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, Lord President of *Wales*, which Post he held to the Time of his Death, which happened in the Year 1524.

*Bishop Blythe
made President of
Wales.*

The

*Affairs of
Ireland.
1512.*

The Earl of *Kildare* employed most of his Time the last Year, in putting himself in a Condition to appear, formidable against the Enemies of the publick Peace, early this Spring, and undertake an Expedition into *Ulster*. The Castle of *Belfast*, which had been destroyed about nine Years before, was now again repaired, but was soon rendered unable to resist the Power of the Deputy.

It does not appear that *Kildare* met with much Opposition, or that he had much more to do than to drive the Rebels before him, and destroy this Castle, which after he had done, and reduced that Part of the Country to Quietness, he returned to *Dublin*.

Whilst the Lord Deputy was thus employed, Docter *Rokeby*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, held a Provincial Synod at *Dublin*; but what they did is uncertain, for the Canons are lost. This Year the Earl built the new Chapel in the Choir of *Christ-church*, *Dublin*, where himself was afterwards buried: And the Citizens of *Dublin*, having conceived a high Displeasure against Sir *James Ormond*, the late Lord Treasurer, (and not the Earl of *Ormond*, as *Hollingshead* relates) they assaulted him in *St. Patrick's* Church with their Bows and Arrows, where, shooting at Random, instead of hitting *Ormond*, they defaced several Images, &c. tho' with much Difficulty Sir *James* escaped with his Life.

The Pope, on hearing this Violence in the Church, sent a Legate into *Ireland*, to enquire into that Affair on the Spot. The Legate, after his Arrival, spent some time therein, and at last enjoined this Penance, That the Mayor of *Dublin* should go barefoot through the City before the Eucharist, on Corpus Christi Day; which was performed accordingly: And here finishes the Year 1512.

THE Emperor was still pursuing his usual Inconstancy; for, though he had, towards the Close of the last Year, entered into a League with the King of England, he seemed now to have forgot it, and sent to propose a fresh League with Lewis, wherein he offered to assist him in conquering the *Milaneze*, provided Lewis would assist him in the War he proposed to carry on against the *Venetians*; and, to shew he was for cultivating a good Understanding betwixt them, demanded Renee, Lewis's second Daughter, for Charles of Austria, his Grandson.

*Affairs of
Italy, Spain,
France, &c.
1513.*

Lewis hearkened to these Proposals with a seeming Inclination to accept them, thereby hoping to create Suspicions in the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, and incline them the sooner to join with him; and, as the latter desired nothing more than a strict Union with France, nothing could retard the Negotiation, except the Hopes of an Agreement with the Emperor; in which Case they would have gladly renounced all other Leagues: But as for the *Switzers*, it was very improbable that Lewis should gain them to his Side, though he offered them more than at first was demanded; for, besides their Hatred towards him, the Face of their Affairs were altered, since the Restoration of *Sforza* to Milan. Whilst that Prince was in Exile it was doubtful, whether in good Policy they ought to engage in a War with France for his Sake; but, since he was by their Assistance in Possession of the Dutchy, their Honour and Interest required their utmost Endeavours to support him. However, Lewis's Desire of agreeing with the *Switzers* not succeeding, he was under a Necessity to join in a League either with the Emperor, or Venice.

In the mean time the *Venetians* sent and proposed a League to him, upon the same Terms with that of the Year 1498, namely, "That they would assist him to recover the *Milaneze*, provided he would
" resign

“ resign *Cremona* and *Gierradada* to them.” *Lewis* readily listened to their Offers, but they did not hasten the Conclusion, by reason of some Affairs that afterwards fell out.

The King of *Spain*, having good Intelligence of what passed between *Lewis* and the *Venetians*, informed the Emperor of it, and advised him to offer *Verona* to the *Venetians* for a Sum of Money, which proved, for some time a fruitless Negotiation.

Pope *Julius* longed for the Season proper to take the Field ; accordingly, in *February*, he doubled his Preparations for opening the Campaign with the Siege of *Ferrara*, but Death first besieged him, who never fails of carrying his Point ; yet his Holiness had kindled a Flame, that was not extinguished even by his giving up the Ghost.

Death of Julius, and his farther Character.

The Pope died on the 21st of *February*, who took the Name of *Julius*, from his Inclination to War, in Respect to the great *Julius Cæsar*. “ He was a Prince of incredible Constancy, says *Guicciardin*, but so full of Fury and unrul’d Conceptions, that the Reverence that was due to the Church, the Discord of Princes, and the Condition of the Times, did more to stay him from his Ruin, than either his Moderation or Discretion ; worthy, no doubt, of great Glory, if either he had been a secular Prince, or if that Care and Intention, which he had to raise the Church into temporal Greatness, by Means of War, had been employed to exalt it by the Moderation of Peace. He was endowed with a high Spirit, insomuch that, if he had been a Temporal Prince, he would have deserved to have been placed among the Number of the Heroes.” Other Authors say, “ That, had it not been for his Fierceness, he had not recovered to the Church the best Part of her Patrimony.” *Paulus Jovius* affirms, “ That when *Julius* died, he having a vast De-

sign,

“sign upon the Kingdom of Naples; that the Title
 “of Deliverer of *Italy*, which *Julius* suffered himself
 “to be flattered with, he declared, *was but an empty*
 “*Name, whilst the Spaniards were possessed of Na-*
 “*ples; this one Circumstance gave him so much Un-*
 “*easiness, that he was once heard to say, If God let*
 “*me act*, striking his Stick upon the Ground, *this*
 “*shall not last long*; meaning, that he would not be
 “long before he should endeavour to drive the *Spa-*
 “*niards* out of *Italy*, as he had done the *French*.”
 Historians say further of him, “That he was a Lover
 “of Wine and Women:” And *du Plessis* puts the
 following Words into *Maximilian’s* Mouth, “Good
 “God! what would become of the World, if thou
 “didst not take a particular Care of it under the Reign
 “of such an Emperor as I am, who am but a poor
 “Hunter, and under that of so wicked and drunken a
 “Pope, as *Julius the II.*” *Francis Hotman* says,
 “That *Julius’s* Hatred against *France* was so excessive,
 “that he ordered all the *French* to be killed which
 “could be met with:” And some affirm further,
 “That his Rage had no Bounds against *Lewis*, for that
 “he had actually made a Decree, to transfer the
 “Kingdom of *France*, and the Title of *Most Chris-*
 “*tian*, to the King of *England*; but, just as he was
 “upon the Point of publishing it, he was called out
 “of the World. His Disease was a hectic Fever,
 “caused, as himself said, by the Uneasiness he was
 “under, that he could not bring the *Venetians* to a-
 “gree with the Emperor.”

We shall conclude our Account of Pope *Julius*
 with the following severe Lines, made on him,

*He that from Greece and Genoa had his Blood,
 And on the Waves his Birth, Can he be good?
 The Genoese Cheats, the Greeks Men Liars call,
 The Sea perfidious is, yet Julius had them all.*

As soon as it was known that the Pope was dead, the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, having recovered his Spirits, lost at the Battle of *Ravenna*, entered *Placentia* without Opposition, which he delivered, as well as *Parma*, to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Milan*.

Before the Death of *Julius*, *Ferdinand* was employed in framing a Plot perfectly tallying with the rest of his sly Pranks; for, the beginning of the Year, he had sent two Monks into *France*, to make some Overtures to *Lewis*, in Relation to a Peace with him, by Means of *Queen Anne*, to whom they had Access: But, as *Lewis* thought it not possible to make a Peace, or even a Truce, with *Ferdinand*, without leaving him in Possession of *Navarre*, he at first received them very coldly; yet, at length considering, he could hardly expect to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, whilst the King of *Spain* was his Enemy, (who had excited the King of *England* also to enter into a War against him) conceived it proper to agree to a Truce for a Year, on Condition *Henry* was included in it, and *Italy* excepted, apprehending that, during this Truce, he should be able to reconquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, after which he should be sufficiently strong to defend his own Kingdom against the *English*.

Nothing was further from *Henry's* Thoughts than such a Truce, which would

Truce of Or-
thez. have broke all his Measures, and yet *Ferdinand* answered for him, as if he was sure of his Consent. This Affair was begun in *January*, when *Lewis* empowered *Lautrec*, to treat with *Ferdinand's* Commissioners, and the Truce was concluded, at *Ortbez* in *Bearne*, the 1st of *April*, which runs thus: "That there should be a Truce for a Year (in *Italy* excepted) between the King of *France*, the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Guelders* on the one Part; and on the other the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the King of *England*." But, as *Ferdinand* knew he should not easily obtain *Henry's* Consent, he caused this

Stipulation

Stipulation to be inserted, “ That it should be ratified within a Month by himself and *Lewis*, but that the other Parties should be allowed two Months, and that the Truce should take Place, as to them, from the Day they signed.”

Never sure did any Prince act in so bold a Manner as *Ferdinand* did on this Occasion; but his Assurance (as we may phrase it) was still more palpable, in that he not only took no Steps to persuade *Henry* to do what he had undertaken for him, but even concealed the Truce from him, tho’ at that very Time *Henry* was making mighty Preparations for War against *France*, and greatly encouraged therein by *Ferdinand* himself.

As soon as the Truce was signed *Ferdinand* took care to publish to the World, that he had been very ill used by the Allies of the League in *Italy*, inasmuch as the Pope and the *Venetians* had acquired many Places, when he (*poor Soul!*) had gained nothing at all, and yet they refused to send the Supply to his Army, which they had undertaken to do, in order to get the remaining Places into their Hands, that the *French* possessed in *Italy*; but this was only to prepare People to receive with less Surprise and Indignation the private Truce he had just made with *France*, without the Knowledge of his Allies.

Now the Minds of the Publick were taken up with the Election of a new Pope, and, from among the various Candidates for that Dignity, Cardinal *John de Medici* was elected Pope, *March* the 11th, who assumed the Name of *Leo* the Xth, and was but thirty seven Years old, tho’ he had been honoured with a Cardinal’s Hat, at fourteen Years of Age, by *Innocent* the VIIIth. He had a noble as well as a very learned Education, and always loved and protected Men of Wit and profound Literature. In his Youth he had the Opportunity of great Experience, having been

Leo X. elected Pope.

employed in divers important Affairs. In his Temper he was not so hot, nor in his Behaviour so haughty as his immediate Predecessor, but was much more Politick, and did not leave the Politicians long in Suspence; for it doubly concerned him to keep the *French* out of *Italy*: *First*, as a Pope, since Neighbours so powerful could not but give him Uneasiness: *Secondly*, As Head of the House of *Medici*, he had Cause to fear, that, if *Lewis* recovered the *Milanese*, he would undertake to restore the *Florentines* to their Liberty. Next his Holiness wished to put an End to the Council of *Pisa*; the ready Way to do which, he judged, was to engage *Lewis* in such Wars that should compel him to make his Peace with the Church.

Ferdinand had likewise had his Views to keep the King of *France* at a distance from *Navarre*, *Roussillon*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*.

As for the Emperor it was his Interest to disable *France* from assisting the *Venetians*; tho' none of them had any desire to carry the War into *France*, but only so to manage, that each one's Diversion might be made at another's Expence.

They all cast their Eyes upon *Henry* the VIIIth, as a Prince extremely proper to execute their Designs, because he had ready Money, warlike Subjects, could with ease transport Troops into some Parts of *France*, (remote from the Borders of *Spain* and *Italy*) was exceeding desirous to signalize himself by illustrious Actions, and scrupled not to shew it publicly: So each of them laboured with all his Power to forward him in his Design to wage War with *France*, by putting him in Hopes of being vigorously supported.

Leo the Xth was no sooner in the Papal Chair, but, under Colour of notifying his Promotion, sent *Henry* a Letter, assuring him, " He was fully determined to
" adhere to the League formed by his Predecessor,
" and

“ and ready to conclude a new one with *England*.” But at the same time he pressed the Emperor to make a Peace with *Venice*, intirely neglecting, or forgetting, the Treaty his Predecessor had made with the Emperor against that Republick, to hinder their Union with *France*, and promised the *Venetians* to use all his Interest with the Emperor, to obtain them honourable and advantageous Terms. All these Practices could not be managed so privately, as to prevent the King of *France*’s getting some Intelligence of them; so that he soon grew very jealous of the new Pope.

Leo also at this Time presented the King of *England* with a Sword and a Hat, and, after the usual Form of Benediction, acquainted him, “ That, in Testimony of “ the great Regard he entertained for his Majesty, “ on account of his many excellent Qualities, especially his great Zeal for *Religion* and the *Church*, “ he sent him a consecrated Hat and Sword;” the Signification whereof he explained by telling him, “ it “ denoted the two Powers Spiritual and Temporal, “ wherewith the *Roman* Pontiff was of Right invested, “ wishing him Success and Prosperity in the Use of “ them against the Enemies of the Church, as well “ as his own.” This Letter is directed to *The most Christian King*, and is the only authentick Instrument we have met with under that Title, which was promised and granted him by *Julius* the II.

*The Pope’s
Present to
the King of
England.*

Henry did not want much Sollicitation to carry his Arms into *France*, his Thoughts being already bent that Way, especially as the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Spain* had promised to act powerfully on his Behalf; therefore readily consented to form a new League with these Princes, and, that it might be the more secretly carried on, it was agreed, that it should be negotiated at *Mechlin* between *Margaret* of *Austria*, (Governess

*Treaty of
Mechlin.*

verness of the *Low Countries*, authorized by the Emperor her Father) and the Ambassador of the King of *England*, who soon concluded a Treaty against *France*; and, though *Ferdinand* had signed a Truce with *Lewis*, he made himself the principal Party in this League, the Substance of which follows:

“ That, within thirty Days after the Date thereof, each of the Confederates shall proclaim War against *France*, and within two Months invade him, viz. the Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphine*, the Emperor where he thought most convenient, the King of *Spain* in *Bearne*, *Guienne*, or *Languedoc*; the King of *England* in *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and their Armies to be strong, and well provided with all Things. — That the Pope should strenuously circulate his Censures against all the Opposers of this League, and the Abettors of the contrary Party. — That, towards the Expences of the War, the King of *England* should give the Emperor 100,000 Crowns of Gold, at three Payments, 35,000 presently after the Declaration of the War, as much more when the War was begun, and 30,000 within three Months after. — That the Emperor entered not into this League, as Guardian to *Charles* his Grandson; but upon his own Account. — That the Emperor and King of *England* should ratify the Treaty within a Month, and the Pope and the King of *Spain* within two Months; with this express Restriction, that, in case the Pope and the King of *Spain* should not ratify the Treaty by the Time appointed, it should however be in Force between the Emperor and the King of *England*. Lastly, the Confederates renounced all Exceptions whatever, and particularly that which might be made to another’s stipulating for them.”

Never perhaps was seen more Insincerity than in this Treaty, since, of all the Confederates, *Henry* alone intended to keep his Word. *Leo* did not ratify it,

Ferdinand disowned his Ambassador, the Emperor received the first Payment from *Henry*, and never troubled himself to perform his Engagements. However, in the mean time, the Treaty being brought to *London*, *Ferdinand's* Ambassador approved and ratified it, *April* the 28th.

It may be thought strange, that an Emperor, a Pope, and a King of *Spain* should thus join to lay such a Snare for a young Prince of but 21 Years of Age, and so nearly allied to *Ferdinand* by Marriage; but certain it is, that where *Self-interest* lies near the Heart, Ties of Blood or Friendship are too often forgot.

Henry, relying upon the Diversions his pretended Allies would make in the Places aforesaid, flattered himself he might easily extend his Conquests to *Picardy*; full of these Conceits we shall leave him making extraordinary Preparations by Sea and Land, for his intended Expedition, and return to Affairs in *Italy*.

The *Venetians*, not being able to conclude a Peace with the Emperor, who pretended to subject them to very unreasonable Terms, solicited a-fresh the Negotiation they had begun with *France*; and now *Lewis*, to whom Time was precious, readily accepted their Proposals, and a League between them was quickly concluded, on the same Foot as that of the Year 1498, which was transacted by *Andrew Gritti*, then Prisoner in *France*, who hereon was released, as well as the brave General *Alviano*, who also had been a Prisoner there ever since the Battle of *Agnadel*; but, at his Return, his graceful Masters made this great Soldier General of the Republick's Forces.

When *Lewis* had concluded this Treaty, he ordered his best Troops to march into *Italy*, depending on the Truce concluded at *Ortbez*, and *Ferdinand's* Undertaking for *Henry's* coming into it. The Commander of these Forces was the famous Marshal *la Trimoville*, and they soon arrived at the Borders of the

the *Milaneſe* ; on which Duke *Maximilian* quitted his Capitol, and retired among the *Switz*, who were a Body of 10 or 11,000 Men ſhut up in *Como* and *Navarra*, where they expected Supplies from their own Country.

The Duke of *Milan*, having only the *Switzers* to oppoſe the *French*, *Milan* and the reſt of the Towns of the Dutchy, except *Como* and *Navarra*, ſubmitted to *la Trimoville*.

Whilſt the *French* were making theſe Conqueſts, *Alviano*, the *Venetian* General, took *Peſchiera*, *Breſcia*, and other Places, but failed in his Attempt upon *Verona*.

About this Time the Faction of the *Adernes*, who in *Genoa* ſided with *France*, found Means to become ſuperior, and put the City again under the Dominion of the *French* King.

Lewis was now in Poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, except *Como* and *Navarra*, which ſo flurried his Generals, that they threatned nothing but Fire and Sword againſt thoſe that ſhould oppoſe them ; but their Alertneſs was but of ſhort Continuance ; for the Glory of this War was reſerved, to the no ſmall Infamy of the *French*, the *Germans*, the *Spaniſh* Regiments, and the *Venetian* Bands, for the *Switzers* only, againſt whom the *French* Army, having firſt left ſufficient Garrifon in *Alexandria*, drew near to *Navarra*, boaſting of what Enemies they had ſubdued, of their having taken Priſoner, in this very Town, *Ludovico Sforza*, Father to the preſent Duke of *Milan*, and that they would alſo take and ſend him to their Maſter ; before which Town they were no ſooner ſet down but they begun the Siege, and did great Executions upon the Walls with their Artillery. As for the *Switzers*, they contemned the *French* ſo much, that they would not ſuffer the Gate of the Town to be ſhut, that opened towards the Camp. After the Beſiegers had beaten down a ſufficient Space of the Wall,

Wall, they made a general Assault, but were repulsed with great Loss. Upon this Disappointment, and hearing the *Switzers* expected a large Reinforcement; the *French* lost Courage, all their late Debonnair was vanished, and they very silently retired two Miles from the City, comforting themselves with the Hopes of starving the Enemy out: But they quickly found the contrary, for *Molin*, a resolute *Switz* Captain, calling together his Soldiers on the Market-place, encouraged them to take this Opportunity to attack the *French*, before they settled in a new Camp, and not tarry for the Succours expected the Day following; adding, "That the greater the Danger, the more Honour; that, in case they succeeded, they should be greatly enriched by the Spoils of their Enemies: And, said he, where Honour, Booty, and perpetual Praise are to be acquired, what can be wanting to provoke such as we are to fight?"

At this Speech the Bands of Soldiers much rejoiced, every one approving the Captain's Advice by holding up his Hand. Then he ordered them to take Refreshment and rest themselves; but not to fail of being ready when the Drum beat.

The Nation of *Switzers* never made a more brave nor more resolute Appearance than upon this Occasion, being but a few in Number, without Horsemen, without Artillery, though going to engage an Army mighty in Men, Ammunition, Horses, and all other Things for Defence.

On the 6th Day of *June*, about Midnight, they issued out of *Navarra*, bearing Minds less affected to Safety; than to Glory, their whole Strength being

The Switz surprise and beat the French Army.

about 9000 Men, 7000 of which were appointed to charge the *French* Artillery, that was guarded by the Lance-knights; the Residue were to confront, with their Pikes upright, the Men at Arms. The

French Army, who expected no such Attack, or at least looked not for it so soon, had made no Fortification to their Camp; so that the first Alarm, their Centinels gave of the Enemies Approach, being so unexpected, with the Darkeness of the Night, threwed them into Confusion, and it was with great Difficulty that they got themselves into any Order of Battle; however, at last they made shift to discharge their Artillery briskly, which did great Execution, as was perceived by the Crying and Noise of the Wounded. Nevertheless, such was the desperate Resolution of the *Switzers*, that, not discouraged with the Slaughter of their fellow Soldiers, dead at their Feet, they still persisted in their Attack, and, at last breaking the Enemies Order, they ran as fast as they could upon the Artillery, when the Lance-knights and they had together a bloody Medley, the one fighting against the other with an unappeasable Fury, which in them both was so much the more redoubled by Hatred on the one Hand, and the Desire of Glory on the other. Now the Sun began to shew itself, and the Diversity of the Fight appeared; sometimes one Side seemed to yield, sometimes the other; but very desperate on both: In short, all Parts were full of deceased Bodies, wounded Men and Blood, and nothing was less feared than Death, nor any thing more abhorred than Fear, and the Greatness of the Peril made both Parties more furious and resolute. But, what was very surprizing, the Men at Arms among the *French* stood stock-still, for neither Authority, Persuasions, Exclamations, Threatnings, nor the Examples of their Generals could move the Horsemen to engage in the Battle, they were so much seized with Fear, that, they seemed to stand and abide the Danger, which by fighting they might have avoided; and it sufficed the *Switzers* to keep them impaled in their Ranks, and to hinder them from ministering

nistring Succours to the Footmen. Such was the Calamity of that Fight, that those found most Peril, who ventured most for their Safety; and such, whose Fear was greater than their Valour, Fortune threw most into Security. In fine the *Switzers* won the Artillery, and turned them upon their Enemies, who were soon put to Flight; and to the flying of the Footmen was joined the breaking and running away of the Men at Arms; except the Lord *Robert la March*, who, moved with the Affection of a Father, entered the *Swiss* Army with a Squadron of Horsemen, to rescue *Florango* and *James*, his two Sons, Captains of Foot, both lying on the Earth grievously wounded; by whose uncommon Valour, to the no small Surprize of the *Switzers*, they were carried off.

After the Battle had continued some Hours, Victory every where declared for the *Swiss*. There was slain of the *Switzers* only 1500, of which Number was their valiant Captain *Molin*, who received his Death-wound by the Thrust of a Pike thro' the Throat: Far greater was the Loss of the *French*, of whom, some say, were left dead no less than 10,000, the most part of the Lance-knights gloriously dying in the Fight. The greatest Execution and Slaughter befel the *French* and *Gascoigne* Footmen in their shameful Flight, but, more was the Pity, almost all the Horsemen went away in Safety, who pushed off so swiftly, that the *Switzers* were not able to follow them. If the *Switzers* had had Horsemen, in all Probability, they had made their Calamity equal, if not worse, than the Footmen, their Cowardice being so inexpressible, and their Disorder so uncommon. All the *French* Baggage became a Prey to the Victors, with twenty two Pieces of great Artillery, and all the Horses assigned for the Service of the same. Among the Wounded was the Marshal *la Trimoville*, and the Father of the Marshal *de Flouranges*, who

received, as the Marshal says in his *Memoirs*, forty six Wounds, and yet recovered. The *Switzers* returned into *Navarra*, crowned with so much Victory, and loaded with so great Spoils, that to their Renown, the Magnanimity of their Enterprize, the evident despising of Death, the Resolution they shewed in the Fight, and the happy and honourable Conquest, run through all *Europe*. "There were many, says *Guicciardin*, who did not stick to rank this Battle and Victory with some of the most magnified among the *Greeks* and *Romans*."

The Remainder of the *French*, after this exceeding Overthrow, fled to *Piedmont*, where *la Trimoville* soon heard the News of new Troubles in the *Milanese*; for the Viceroy of *Naples*, upon the late Defeat, sent some Forces to *Genoa*, upon which that City revolted from the *French*, and was restored to its antient Form of Government.

Maximilian, Duke of *Milan*, who had been expelled his Dutchy, took Possession of it again; so that by these surprising Vicissitudes, in the King of *France's* Affairs, *Lewis* got and lost *Genoa* and *Milan* in less than a Month.

The *Venetians*, hearing what had befel the *French*, hastily retired into their own Territories, and formed the Siege of *Verona*. The Viceroy of *Naples* pursued and fell on the *Venetians*, and obliged them to raise the Siege, then beat them in a pitched Battle near *Vicenza*, and after that entered the *Venetian* Territories, took several Towns, and even ravaged the Country within sight of *Venice*; insomuch, that the Republick was fallen almost into the same Condition it had been in formerly, to which *Lewis* had reduced it, after the Battle of *Agnadel*, as to its Possessions on the Continent. In which unhappy Condition we shall once more leave them.

But

But the *Swiss* were not contented in driving the *French* out of the *Milanese*, they even followed them into their own Country, and the Opportunity was favourable, by reason of the several before mentioned Junctures; to improve which they instantly levied 15,000 Men. Here the Emperor was ready to join, in hopes of sharing the Plunder; and accordingly ordered the Nobility of *French Comte*, and some *German Horse*, under the Command of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to assist the *Switzers*.

The Swiss follow the Runaways into France.

This Army entered *Burgundy*, and encamped before *Dijon*, where the *French* General, then lately returned from *Italy*, had, in his Turn, shut himself up with some Troops; but the Place was so weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping it; tho' *la Trimoville* perceived, that, if it was given up, *France* in general would be in great Danger; therefore without waiting the King's Orders, he bound himself to pay the *Swiss* 400,000 Crowns, part of which he paid down; and likewise, in his Master's Name, promised, that he should desist from all his Pretensions to the *Dutchy of Milan*.

No sooner were these Articles signed, but the *Switzers*, being well pleased with their Expedition, returned home, taking with them four Hostages, who were to remain with them till the Articles were performed; but, as soon as the Hostages heard, that *Louis* refused to ratify the Articles, they found Means to make their Escapes; and with this Incident we shall quit, for this Year, the War abroad, wherein *England* was not immediately concerned.

Henry, whilst the Land-forces were getting ready, ordered a large Fleet to be fitted out for scouring the Seas, and protecting the Coasts. The Command of this Fleet he gave to Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord high Admiral, which consisted of forty two Line of Battle Ships, and

Affairs of England.

1513.

and they sailed to the Coast of *France*, and found the *French* Fleet snug in the Harbour of *Brest*. The Admiral, nevertheless, resolved to attack them, and sent Notice thereof to the King, and desired his Majesty would come in Person, to have the Honour of the Action. Whatever might be the King's Inclination, he was dissuaded therefrom by his Council; so that the Answer the Admiral received was, in general, to do his Duty. Whereupon he landed 1500 Men against *Brest*, burnt the Country in sight of the Castle and 10,000 *French*, who were drawn up together, and thought fit not to oppose them.

The Fleet being now in some want of Provisions, for the present the Admiral stopped his Progress till a fresh Supply arrived: But, having Notice where the *French* Gallies lay, he resolved to attack them, and he himself entered one of the Row-barges in Pursuit of them, tho' they lay between Rocks, whereon were placed several Pieces of Ordinance. About four a Clock in the Afternoon he entered the *French* Admiral's Galley Sword in Hand, attended by Sir *John Wallop*,* and seventeen *English* jolly Tars at his Heels, who soon drove out the Enemy; but, the Tide being far spent, the other Barges could not come up to his Assistance, which the *French* perceiving, they re-entered the Galley, with Spikes and Spears, begun a new Fight, and the Row-barge being driven away by the Violence of the Tide, his Men were most of them killed by his Side, where he, still maintaining the Fight, was with a Spear thrown over-board, and drowned; with much Difficulty Sir *John Wallop* escaped, and our Fleet, having thus lost their most gallant Admiral, returned home.

Thus

* From this gallant Sea-Officer the present Right honourable *John Wallop*, Lord Viscount *Lymington* is descended; who

married the Lady *Bridget*, eldest Daughter to *George* Earl of *Tankerville*, by whom he has several Children.

Thus died our valiant Sir *Edward Howard*,* rather by his own Intrepidity, than the Conduct of his Enemies. His Rashness indeed was blamed, as the Cause of his unfortunate Death, but his Honour and Bravery must still survive in the Records of Fame; of whom it may be truly affirmed, that his whole Life was but one Scene of noble, generous, and magnanimous Actions, which begun even in his Infancy. He was second Son of *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, a valuable Descendant to that illustrious House; for whether we view the great Endowments of his Mind, or the Extensiveness of his Genius, we shall be equally and agreeably surpris'd, especially in War, for which he was so well qualified, that never was he so well pleas'd, as when attempting the most dangerous Enterprizes; for those Dangers which would raise Tremors in others, put him into Repose and a natural Temper.

By Land he always led the Van of the Army, and rush'd into the hottest Fire of the Enemy. At Sea he despis'd Danger, and shew'd Courage even to a Fault, with whom this was a Maxim, *That a Seaman was good for nothing, and scarce worth hanging, that was not resolute, even to some Degree of Madness.*

The *French*, thinking to take Advantage of the Admiral's Death, took it into their Heads to land some Men in *Suffex*, where they met with such a Reception, as induced them to return on Board, without doing much Damage to the Country.

The Nation sustaining a very great Loss, by the Death of this famous Admiral, in some measure to repair it, the King was pleas'd to confer the Command of his Fleet on the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Brother of the Deceased. No sooner had he received his Commission, but he repaired on board the Fleet, and

* From this brave Gentleman the Right Honourable *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Suffolk*, the Right Honourable *Henry Bowes Howard*, Earl of *Berkshire*, and the Right Honourable *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Carlisle*, are descended.

and so scoured the Seas of the *French*, that they were no more to be seen on the *English* Coast.

Now his Majesty became more attentive to the Transactions of State, in order to form himself for Government, and obtain a further Knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe*.

Strype says, "This War was undertaken out of Zeal to the Pope, and that it might be justly thought, as *Wolsey* was become greatly in Favour, that he encouraged it, not only to shew himself a true Churchman, but also to serve the private Ends of his own Ambition, when it should be known to the Pope, how he was the Instrument of stirring up the King to this chargeable Piece of Service."

We can't agree with the learned Mr. *Strype*, in this; that the War was greatly encouraged by Mr. *Wolsey*; for, nothing appearing either in Print or Manuscript, to support it, on the contrary, it is most likely, that this War was projected and advised by the King's Privy Council, prior to *Wolsey's* coming into the Ministry: And that it was a Spark of Zeal in his Majesty as well as Bravery, that put him upon it, which may in some measure be collected from a Letter of the King's to Sir *David Owen*, desiring him to attend him into *France* with 60 Archers and 40 Bills on Foot, assigning these Reasons for the Expedition.

The King's Letter to Sir David Owen. "That it was according to his Duty to God and his Church, at the Request and Desire of his Holiness and other Christian Princes; that it was for the Defence of the Pope and the Church, being by the *French* King oppressed, and for extinguishing the detestable Schism, raised by certain perverse Cardinals, and maintained by the same King; and that, for God's Quarrel as well as recovering his own Right, he would prosecute and carry on the War, and personally proceed him-





N. Parr Sculp

“ self into *France* with a Royal Army.” In the Conclusion he advised Sir *David*, “ to fulfil the Command becoming his Honour, and as he tendered the Advancement of that meritorious Voyage.”

Cardinal *Baynbridge*, still Ambassador Baynbridge's
Letter to the
King. at *Rome*, wrote to the King, wherein he informs his Majesty, “ of the Opinion then entertained of him there, in respect to his designed Expedition to *France*: The Pope's Holiness, says he, and all other great Men here, look daily to hear that your Grace shall utterly exterminate the *French* King, which I shall daily beseech the most blessed *Trinity* to bring to such pass, as your Grace would desire, with prosperous Preservation of your most high and noble Estate.” To this Letter the King returned a suitable Answer, and assured the Cardinal, “ That he would prosecute the intended War with the utmost Vigour, for the designed Purpose.”

The *French* had raised a Report at *Rome*, that the King intended only to go over to *rance* in order to make a Peace with *Lewis*. But as soon as this Letter arrived, *Baynbridge* satisfied that Court, that the Report was false, and thereupon wrote to the King again to the following Effect :

“ My Lord, the Cardinal *Hadrian* doth now greatly value himself, that, since I did shew unto him your Grace's most honourable Letters against the Schismatics, he hath laboured extremely against them, and brought the Matter into this pass, than which there is nothing more false : For it is here openly known to all Men, that all Things, which hath been done against the Schismatics, hath been brought about only by the Cardinal *Scant Vitall Sedunen*, and myself, all others, that have done any thing therein, have done it at our Instances: Though I am very loth to write any thing against any Person to your Grace, I can't of Duty hold my

“ Peace, the Ambassador of *Spain*, being Resident
 “ here, did lately come unto me at my Seat, which
 “ is a compleat Mile from his Home, to shew un-
 “ to me, that the said Cardinal *Hadrian* doth di-
 “ vulge amongst the Cardinals and others, certain
 “ Things against your Grace’s Honour: First, that
 “ your Grace would come over the Sea, not to in-
 “ vade the Enemies of the Church, but to make a
 “ Peace at your Pleasure: Secondly, he shewed unto
 “ the said Ambassador, that no Man in *Rome* had
 “ any thing from *England* but he, by reason he had
 “ a Factor there, named *Polidorus*, who he said was
 “ Body and Soul to my Lord of *Winchester*, and from
 “ whom he had been informed, that your Grace
 “ would not in any case Personally proceed against
 “ the *Frenchmen*, the which Relation did greatly dis-
 “ comfort all such as be your Grace’s Servants, and
 “ regard your Honour; and greatly encouraged all
 “ those who be your Enemies. When I did adver-
 “ tize the said Cardinal hereof, desiring him to make
 “ no Relation contrary to your Grace’s Letters to
 “ me directed, in which was never found a Lie; he
 “ did swear he never said any such thing; though
 “ not only the said Ambassador, but also some of the
 “ best Cardinals at *Rome*, will prove it a-fore his
 “ Face: Infomuch the said Ambassador of *Spain* hath
 “ writ at this time unto the Ambassador of *Spain*,
 “ now Resident in your Grace’s Court, desiring him
 “ to shew the Thing in such Manner there, that
 “ the said Cardinal may be warned to desist from
 “ making such untrue Relations, contrary to your
 “ Grace’s Letter and Honour. My Lord of *Wor-*
 “ *cester*, your Grace’s Orator here, hath and doth
 “ daily unto your Grace right good Service in all
 “ your Causes, by reason of the very good Favour
 “ he is in with the Pope’s Holiness. The Pope’s
 “ Holiness is minded, as your Grace may perceive
 “ by his Brief, to send a Legate to your Grace to

“ treat

“ treat of universal Peace ; but, after mine Opinion,
 “ it shall neither be profitable nor honourable, that
 “ your Grace do admit any such Legate, and espe-
 “ cially for that Intent : For his Holiness does it
 “ only for a Shew, and to keep his Oath ; be-
 “ cause his Mind is verily, that your Grace shall
 “ make no Manner of Peace, but such as should
 “ be for your Grace’s Honour. Albeit, when I shall
 “ have Knowledge of your Grace’s Pleasure herein,
 “ I shall apply me to the same. Every Man here
 “ hath regard unto his own Honour and Profit,
 “ wherefore I doubt not but your Grace will do
 “ the same.”

This Letter shews what an Opinion Cardinal *Bayn-bridge* had of *Hadrian*, whose Actions were all of a piece, which will hereafter appear. As the Master was so indifferent, its to be presumed his Deputy, *Polydor*, * was not very good.

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* As we shall have Occasion further to mention *Polydor Virgil*, we will here give the Reader the best Account of him we can find. *Polidor* was born in *Italy*, and was Kinsman to Cardinal *Hadrian*, Bishop of *Bath*, the the Pope’s Collector in *England*, in 1507, *Hadrian* appointed him his Deputy and sent him into *England*, where he was soon after preferred to be Arch-deacon of *Wells*, and then he got into Favour with *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who also preferred him to some Church Dignity. In the Beginning of the Year 1510, he was Naturalized, by the Name of *Polidorus Castellensis Clericus* ; and shortly after he was made a Canon of *St. Paul’s*.

The History of *England*, which he wrote in *Latin* was famous in those Days, and at first raised him

great Reputation ; but afterwards Objections were brought against it, particularly by *John Ap Rice*, who shewed many Errors that *Polydor Virgil* had committed in his *History*, Book 27, wherein he set forth several Things that redounded to the Dishonour of the *British* Nation. *Ap Rice* thereupon published his *British* History in *Latin* in Opposition to it.

Fuller, in his *Church History*, has this Remark, in relation to *Polydor Virgil* : “ That he wrote a *Latin* “ History of *Britain* from the O- “ riginal of the Nation to the 30th “ Year of the Reign of King “ *Henry the VIIIth*, out of many “ rare Manuscripts, which he “ had collected together. Now, “ partly to raise the Reputation “ of his own Writings, (that “ he might seem so lazy Tran- “ scriber) partly to render him-

As to Cardinal *Baynbridge*, it appears by his Letters, that he was a watchful Servant, and ready to serve his Master, the King, in all Affairs.

Tho' *June* approached, no Emperor's Forces were in the Field, nor had the King heard one Word of his Father-in-law's being in Motion, pursuant to the late League; yet that did not deter *Henry* from putting his Part in Execution.

As the King had declared his Resolution of commanding his Army in Person, several Objections were raised against it in Council: Some urged the Affection and Concern of the Nation for his Safety; that, as a great Part of his People were still attached to the House of *York*, and as there was one of that Family in the Tower, it would not be very difficult to set him on the Throne, in case any Disaster should befall his Majesty: That a War with *France* was not of such Moment to *England*, as to hazard his Majesty's sacred Person in a Foreign Country; and that, if any Mischance should happen to him, it would overwhelm the whole Nation with the greatest Grief."

In answer to these Objections, it was alledged, That to commit an Army, with the Flower of the Nobility and Gentry to any one Subject, was not only unsafe, but might be prejudicial, because of the many Competitors for the Honour; and that it was no new thing for a King of *England* to march at the Head of his Army in Foreign Countries." To this it was replied, "That, as the King had no Issue, it was against all Reason of State to hazard
" the

" self out of the Reach of Con-
" futation, (being suspected not
" over faithful in his Relation)
" he is said to have burned all
" those rare Authors, which he
" could compass into his Posses-
" sion: Thus, Tyrant like, he
" cut down the Stairs whereby

" he ascended the Throne of his
" own Knowledge. If this be
" true, the World may thank
" *Polydor Virgil* for his Work
" *de Inventione Rerum*, but have
" Cause to chide (not to say
" curse) his Memory, for his
" *Act de Perditione Librorum*.

“ the Kingdom to such Tumults, as might follow in
“ case of his Death.”

Upon these Debates his Majesty took time to consider, and, at the next Meeting of the Council, declared, “ That he was not satisfied with the Reasons offered for his not going over to *France* in Person ; that, as his Inclination was now stronger than before, he should follow its Dictates.”

The Council, perceiving that it was not easy to divert the King from his Intention, advised the putting of the Earl of *Suffolk* to Death, in order to remove the first Objection, which was agreed to, and he was accordingly beheaded, not only without being tried, but without having Sentence of Death passed upon him.

The Earl of Suffolk beheaded.

Eckard says, “ The Earl was of a turbulent and audacious Spirit, and that his Head was struck off by the Direction of *Henry* the VIIth on his Death-bed.”

It seems to be somewhat particular, as there appears no legal Cause for putting this unhappy Prince to Death ; that neither *Polydor Virgil*, Monsieur *Rapin*, nor any other of *Wolsey*’s most inveterate Enemies, should not palm his Death on him, by alledging that he advised the King to take away his Life, which they might more feasibly have done, than many other ill-natured Actions they have laid to his Charge.

To paliate this almost unheard of Murder, for, as he had no Trial, it can be nothing less, because it appears he was pardoned by *Henry* the VIIth ; though some have been pleased to say, “ That *Henry* the VIIth did not pardon him, but only promised not to take away his Life ; and, in Imitation of *David*’s Commands to *Solomon* in respect to *Joab*, he directed his Son to do it.”

The *French* Writers assert, “ The Earl’s Brother was at this Time in the *French* Service, commanded 6000 Men, and began to make a great Figure ;”

which

which its supposed was one Motive for taking him off to prevent any Inconveniency from the other side of the Water, by fomenting Commotions in the Kingdom during the King's Absence, in order to deliver the Earl out of the *Tower*.—A sorry Excuse indeed.

The Earl of *Suffolk* being thus removed, the King's going into *France* was no longer opposed in Council, and *Wolsey* was again ordered to hasten the Preparations for embarking the Army. Just as every Thing was ready for the Expedition, the King received an Account, that his Father-in-law had made a Truce for a Year with *Lewis*, which put *Henry* into some Commotion, and caused him to dispatch an Ambassador to *Ferdinand*, to summon him to execute his Engagements. *Ferdinand*, in Answer, told the Ambassadors, "That the Necessity of his Affairs had obliged him
" to accept a Truce for a Year; that he advised his
" Son-in-law likewise to accept of the same; that the
" Year following he would unite his Forces with
" *England*, and vigorously attack the common E-
" nemy."

The King had not long received this Account, before a Messenger from the Emperor arrived, with a Letter filled with Excuses, and, among other Things, tells the King, "That his Affairs would not permit
" him to send an Army into *Burgundy* this Year; but
" assured him, that he would not fail making amends
" the next Year, by bringing a much greater Army
" into the Field than he first intended; and protested,
" that, tho' he could not do what he first proposed,
" yet he would attend his Majesty to serve in his Ar-
" my as a Volunteer."

Now *Henry* found, that the League, which had been stiled *holy*, was deserted by two *unholy* or *unfaithful* Parties, and he left alone to carry on the War; yet this did not discourage him; for, the King, as *Hollinghead*

lingshead says, was resolutely bent to tame the lofty Frenchmen.

Henry the VIIth, in Consideration of Sir *Gilbert Talbot's* faithful Service at the Battle of *Bosworth*, was pleased to make him Governor of *Calais*, and his Son, the present King, being well satisfied of the Attachment of this Knight to his Interest, was pleased to continue him in this important Post; and we now find him very busy in preparing Quarters for the Troops that were ordered to embark, which he had no sooner done but the Earl of *Shrewsbury* * set out some few Weeks before the King for *Calais*, accompanied by the Earl of *Derby*, † *Thomas Dowcra*, Lord Prior of *St. John*; the Lords *Abergavenny*, ‖ *Fitz Walter*, *Hastings*, § *Carew* and *Cobham*; Sir *Robert Rad-*

* From this gallant Nobleman, his Grace the late Duke of *Shrewsbury* was descended, and the present Earl is the eleventh of that noble House. Of this great Family was the late Bishop *Talbot*, born at *Stourton-Castle* in *Staffordshire*, and educated at *Oriel-College, Oxford*, who married *Miss King*, one of the Daughters of Alderman *King*, of the City of *London*. His Son, the never to be forgotten *Charles Lord Talbot*, died in the Year 1736, and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by the present *William Lord Talbot*. His Lordship's other Son, the Honourable *John Talbot, Esq*; one of the *Wekk Judges*, and a Member of Parliament, married *Henrietta Maria*, second Daughter of the worthy and honourable Sir *Matthew Decker*, Bart.

† From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *Edward Earl of Derby* is descended.

‖ This Nobleman was stiled the first Baron of *England*; ("and from the noble and illustrious Family of *Neville*, there sprung (says *Cambden*) six Earls of *Westmoreland*, two Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, besides a Queen, a Marquis, a Duke, five Dutchesse, and several Baronets.") And from this noble Peer the present Right Honourable *William*, now Lord *Abergavenny*, is descended.

§ *Brook* tells, "that this Lord *George Hastings* was Son of the great Lord *Hastings*, (who was beheaded in *Edward the Vth's* Time, See Vol. I. p. 11.) and was, the 21st of *Henry the VIIIth*, created Earl of *Huntingdon*." And from this Nobleman *Theophilus*, now Earl of *Huntingdon*, is descended, who has, by his Lady *Selina Shirley*, one of the Coheirs of the late Earl of *Ferrers*. two Sons and a Daughter living.

176 *The* LIFE and TIMES

Radcliff,* *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, *Sir George Manners*, † *Sir Thomas Alston*, § *John Gage*, || and many other gallant Knights and Esquires, with an Army of 8000 Men, where they safely landed; and shortly after they were followed by a more considerable Body, commanded by the Lord *Herbert*. On the 22d of *June*,

Turwine besieged.

after several Marches, the Army encamped within a Mile of the strong City of *Turwine*. The same Night Lord *Herbert* held a Council of War in his own Tent, in which the Lord *Carew* was killed by a Bullet from the Town, to the great Surprise of the Council: But his Lordship, on that Occasion, observing to them, that this was only the Fortune of War, they resolved immediately to besiege the Town with Vigour.

In the mean time *Wolfey* having got the King's Equipages ready, and *Henry* settled his Affairs, and constituted Queen *Catherine* Regent of the Kingdom in his Absence, on the 15th of *June* he departed from *Greenwich*, accompanied by his Queen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, Marquis of *Dorset*, the Earls of *Northumberland*

* From this Gentleman the unfortunate *James*, late Earl of *Derwentwater*, was descended, who left Issue, among others, a Daughter, who was married to a very worthy Nobleman, the late *Robert* Lord *Petre*, who is succeeded in his Honour and Estate by Lord *Petre*, a Minor.

† This worthy Gentleman died at the Siege of *Turwine* or *Tournay*, from whom (being one of the most antient Families in *England*, and allied both to the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, bore first the Title of Lord *Ross*) his Grace, *John* Duke of *Rutland*, is descended.

§ From this Knight (who particularly distinguished himself at the *Battle of the Spurs*) the Right Honourable *Walter Alston*, Lord *Alston* of *Forfar*, in *Scotland*, is descended.

|| *John Gage*, Esq; distinguished himself at the Siege of *Turwine*, and for his Valour was made Captain of the Castle at *Calais*, afterwards was knighted, and had other Honours conferred on him, by King *Henry* the VIIIth, and from whom the present Right Honourable *Thomas*, Lord Viscount *Gage*, Member of Parliament for *Leitchbury*, is descended.

berland, Essex*, Kent, Wiltshire, the Lords Audley†, De la War §, and Curson; his Prime Minister and Almoner, Wolsey; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and other Persons of great Eminence, both of the Clergy and Laity; and his Majesty by easy Journeys arrived at Dover, from whence, after taking suitable Leave of his Queen, he set sail for Calais, where he safely arrived on the 30th, and was joyfully received by Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Governor, and the rest of the Inhabitants.

The King lands in France.

The King resided at Calais a short Time, till his Provision and some further Forces were landed, and then set out with those Troops for Turwine, where the other Part of his Army was employed in besieging that Place: And we hope it may be excused, if we in-

VOL. II.

A a

roduce

* The Earl of Essex was of the antient Family of Bouchier, Earls of Essex, and, upon the Death of this Nobleman, in Henry the VIIIth's Time, the Family became Extinct: The Title was afterwards enjoyed by Thomas Cromwell, who was beheaded. Then William Parr was created Earl of Essex, who dying without Issue, the Title was conferred upon Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford. That Family enjoyed the Earldom many Years, but with some Interruption; at last it was conferred on Arthur, Lord Capel, the 20th of April, the 13th of Charles the IId, (who was descended from Sir William Capel, Knight, Lord Mayor of London, in 1503, greatly oppressed by Empson and Dudley, as before hinted; whose Son, Giles, was knighted at Tournay, as will hereafter appear.) The Heir of this present worthy

and loyal Family is the Right Honourable William Capel, Earl of Essex, &c.

† This Lord was restored to the Title (just before the King set out for France) forfeited by his Father's Attainder, in Henry the VIIth's Time; from which Nobleman Mervin Lord Audley was descended, who was beheaded the 14th of May, 1631; and his Son James was afterwards restored to the Title by a new Creation, from whom the present Right Honourable James Touchet, Lord Audley, and Earl of Castlehaven, is descended, and has Issue one Son.

§ From this Nobleman John West, Lord de la War, one of the Knights Companions of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, is descended, and has Issue one Son and two Daughters living.

roduce a few more Lines on this Occasion, from that inimitable Piece before-mentioned.

*Behold, in awful March and dread Array,
The long extended Squadrons shape their Way!
Death, in approaching terrible, imparts,
An anxious Horror to the bravest Hearts:
Yet do their beating Breasts demand the Strife,
And Thirst of Glory quells the Love of Life.
No vulgar Fears can British Minds controul,
Heat of Revenge, and noble Pride of Soul
O'erlook the Foe, advantag'd by his Post,
Lessen his Numbers, and contract his Host.
Tho' Fens and Floods possess the middle Space,
That unprovok'd they would have fear'd to pass,
No Fens or Floods can stop Britannia's Bands,
When her proud Foe rang'd on her Borders stands.*

On the 18th of July his Majesty with his Forces arrived safe in his Camp before *Turwine*, and immediately took a View of the City, which was strongly fortified with Walls, Bulwarks, and large Ditches; the Governor's Name was *Pontremy*, who defended the Place with remarkable Bravery; his Garrison consisted of 2500 Men, besides the Inhabitants. The Walls and Ramparts were lined with large Pieces of Cannon, which very much annoyed the *English*.

The next Day his Majesty mustered all his Troops, which amounted in the whole to 26,000 fighting Men, (but the *French* Authors say they consisted of 50,000) and at the same time came News, that the *French* Army was in full March to engage the *English*.

Here the King took upon himself the chief Command of his Army, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on his Right Hand, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the Left; *Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle*, commanded the Vanguard, accompanied by the Earl of *Essex*; *Edward Guildford*, Esq; carried the Standard Royal; the Rear-guard was

commanded by *William Compton*,* Esq; being composed chiefly of the Retinue of Bishop *Fox* and Mr. *Wolsey*. After all came Sir *Anthony Oughtred*, *Ralph Fane*,† and *John Nevil*, Esqs; with 400 Spears.

On the 27th the *French* Army came within Sight of the *English*, whose Forces consisted of 18,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, *la Palisse*, Lord *Clermont*, the famous Chevalier *Bayard*, and other Officers of great Note. And soon after there was a Skirmish between Earl of *Essex*'s Men, and a Party of the Enemy, in which the *English* got the better, and drove the *French* before them; for which Action the King publicly thanked the Earl.

His Majesty with a becoming martial Spirit closely attended the Siege, where the *English* Soldiers daily gave fresh Proofs of their Courage in Sight of their Sovereign, which was so highly pleasing to him, that he then bestowed many Marks of his princely Favour both to the Officers and Soldiers.

It was during this Siege that the Emperor arrived in the *English* Army, where he entered himself into the King's Service, wearing the Cross of *St. George*, and a party-coloured Rose; he was lodged

The Emperor Maximilian takes Pay as a Soldier under Henry the VIIIth.

A a 2 in

* This Gentleman was descended of a very antient Family; his Father, *Edward Compton*, Esq; dying when he was but eleven Years of Age, he was a Ward to *Henry* the VIIIth, who appointed him to wait on *Henry* then Duke of *York*; whose Favour he so far gained, that, when he ascended the Throne, he constituted him Groom of his Bed-chamber, and, in his second Year, made him Groom of the Stole. He was a stout gallant Gentleman, and greatly respected by the King and his whole

Court. From this honourable Gentleman the present Right Honourable *James Compton*, Earl of *Northampton*, and the present most truly worthy and honourable *Spencer Compton*, Earl of *Wilmingon*, are descended.

† From the above Gentleman the present Right Honourable *John Fane*, now Earl of *Westmoreland*, is descended, who married *Mary*, the only Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Henry Cavendish*, a near Relation to his Grace the Duke of *Devonshire*.

in a rich Tent, and received 100 Crowns a Day for his Pay. On the 16th of *August* a Council of War was held, at which the Emperor assisted. In this Council the storming of the Town, and preventing its being supplied with Provisions was debated, and resolved to prepare five Bridges to be laid over the River, for the Army to pass, as well for the better incommoding the Town, as to hinder any Supply of Provisions being carried into it.

The *English* passed over these Bridges the next Day, and Part of them fell in with a Convoy of Provisions designed for the Town, guarded by the whole *French* Army. *Henry* immediately attacked this Convoy, so that a general and sharp Engagement ensued, (and there was also present the Emperor) which ended in the *French* being put to flight, and the Duke of *Longueville*, their General taken Prisoner, with *la Palisse*, *Clermont*, *Bayard*, and several other Officers, besides a great Number of common Soldiers.

This Engagement was called the Battle of *Spurs*, occasioned by the Consternation and Disorder which the *French* fled in, who made more Use of their *Spurs* than their *Spears*, their Horsemen having no more Courage to stand Fire here, than in their Engagement with the *Switzers* in *Italy*.

As soon as this Action was over, the Governor, finding himself disappointed of the Provisions he expected, delivered up the Town to the King. Upon this the Earl of *Shrewsbury* hoisted the Banner of *St. George*, and the King entered the City in great State, finding therein Plenty of Guns and Ammunition. Next, in a Council of War, it was resolved, to proceed from hence, in order to besiege the City of *Tournay*, after the Demolition of the Fortifications and burning the Town of *Turwine*, the Bishop's Palace, the Cathedral, the Churches and religious Houses excepted; yet it was not so far

Turwine
taken.

far demolished, but the *French* shortly after repaired the Fortifications, and put it in a State of Defence. After the taking this City the Emperor passed into *Flanders*.

Some Authors say, that *Turwine* was destroyed at the Request of the Emperor, who urged, that it could not be kept without great Expence, and only served as a Bulwark for the Enemy. Here again we must touch on Mr. *Addison*;

* *The roving Gaul, to his own Bounds restrain'd,
Learns to encamp within his Native Land;
But soon as the victorious Host he spies,
From Hill to Hill, from Stream to Stream he flies;
Such dire Impressions in his Heart remain,
Of Henry's Sword, and Turwine's fatal Plain:
In vain Britannia's mighty Chief besets,
Their shady Coverts, and obscure Retreats,
They fly the Conqueror's approaching Fame,
That bears the Force of Armies in his Name.*

From *Turwine* the Army marched to lay siege to *Tournay*; and, in their Rout, the King, accompanied by divers noble Attendants, was pleased to pay a Visit to *Charles* of *Austria*, then at *Lisle*, who were received with the highest Honour, and feasted in the most magnificent Manner; where the King and his Train staid three Days, and then proceeded to join his Army, which by that Time was got before *Tournay*.

About a Mile from *Lisle* this Royal Posse lost themselves in a Mist, not one of them being able to tell where they were. In this Perplexity a † Victualler by

* We have, indeed taken the Liberty to change here and there a proper Name, to adapt the Verses to our Application; which, nevertheless shews, the extensive Genius of the Poem.

† If this had not been a very honest Fellow, what a Booty he might have made of them.

by chance luckily came by, who conducted them safe to the Army, where his Majesty was received with great Acclamations of Joy; and he immediately gave Directions for forming the Siege of *Tournay*.

Garter King at Arms, on the 21st of *September*, summoned the City to surrender, which they refused. Whereupon the Army invested the City, and the Emperor returned to the Camp, accompanied by the *Paulsgrave* of the *Rhine*, but soon after he quitted the King's Service and retired into *Germany*.

On the 23d his Majesty, attended by the *Tournay taken.* Earl of *Sbrewsbury*, passed over the River, and opened the Trenches before the Castle, whereby the City was besieged on all Sides. — The 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th the Siege was continued; but the City, finding themselves very much streightned, and without hopes of Succour from *France*, beat a Parley; and some of the Citizens, being conducted to the King's Camp, offered to deliver up the Town upon certain Conditions, which being agreed to, it was surrendered to the *English* on the 30th of *September*. Upon its Gate was inscribed the following Words, *Thou hast never lost thy Virginity*. This City contained a Cathedral, two Abbies, and several Religious Houses, with large Dependancies. Here our brave young Monarch called into his Royal Presence *John Bridges* *, *Simon Harcourt* †, *Edward Guildford*,
William

* From this Gentleman his Grace the most noble and generous *James*, Duke of *Cbandos*, is descended; and whose Heir apparent is the Right Honourable *Henry*, Marquis of *Carnarvon*, one of the Knights of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath*, and Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*.

† From this Knight, who was of a very antient Family, seated at *Stanton-Harcourt*, in *Oxfordshire*, the late Sir *Philip Harcourt* was descended, who had one Son, named *Simon*, educated at *Oxford*, (and entered in the *Inner-Temple*) from whence he removed to *Chipping-Norton*, a Market Town in the same County.

William Fitz Williams, William Compton, Giles Capel, John Darnly, William Tyler, William Hufsey, Ralph Egerton,

ty, and there resided in a sort of Exile upon Account of some Difference with Sir Philip, his Father; but his Sire dying in the Year 1688, he appeared in his proper Station. In 1690 he was elected a Member of Parliament for Abingdon; pursued the Study of the Law, and in a short time became a great Proficient in it; he was Knighted on the 1st of June, 1702; then made Solicitor-General, and on the 23d of April, 1707, declared Attorney-General; October the 18th, 1710, chose

Lord-keeper of the Great Seal; created a Peer the 3d of September, 1712, by the Title of Baron, of Stanton-Harcourt; then preferred to the Dignity of Lord High Chancellor; and, in the 7th Year of King George the 1st, was created a Viscount. But, amidst all his Glory, he had the Misfortune to lose his only Son, who had been married, and left one Son behind him, and was so very valuable, a Gentleman, that the celebrated Mr. Pope wrote the following Lines on him, which are engraved on his Tomb.

*To this sad Shrine, who e'er thou art, draw near;
Here lies the Friend most loved, the Son most dear;
Who ne'er knew Joy but Friendship might divide,
Or gave his Father Grief but when he died.
How vain is Reason, Eloquence how weak,
If Pope must tell, what Harcourt cannot speak.
Oh! let thy once lov'd Friend inscribe thy Stone.
And, with a Father's Sorrows, mix his own!*

It is remarkable, that when Lord Harcourt resided at Chipping-Norton, the late Bishop Talbot lived in the same Town and House with him, and that, when they appeared in the World, they took different Interests in Respect to the State; and yet thro' their great Merits, the first arrived to be Lord High Chancellor, and the latter to be Bishop of Durham; and his Son, the late Lord Talbot, died possessed of the high Office of Chancellor. One Instance of both these high-stationed Noblemen's Gratitude,

manifestly appeared, in their always being ready to serve, and grant the Requests of their old Friend, with whom they lived in great Harmony at Chipping-Norton, before they stepped into Grandeur; which happens too to be within the Compass of our own Knowledge.

The Lord Harcourt died on the 24th of July, 1727, and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by the present Right Honourable Simon Harcourt, Lord Viscount Harcourt, his Grandson.

Egerton *, *George Harvey* †, and *Edward Greville* ‖, and knighted them all ; he also conferred the Honour of *Knight Banneret* on Sir *John Seymour* § ; and then held a Council of War, wherein many Debates arose about the King's keeping the Town ; but, *Wolsey* in particular insisting, that it was proper *Tournay* should be kept as a Trophy of the King's Victory, and the rather because *Julius Cæsar*, in his *Commentaries*, acknowledged he nowhere met with so brave a Resistance as at *Tournay*. The Council approving *Wolsey's* Advice, his Majesty determined to keep the City, into which he made a publick Entry, and was much grander than that into *Turwine*. Here the Arch-duke *Charles*, with *Margaret* of *Savoy* his Aunt, came to return the King's Visit, and congratulate him on his Conquests.

See our celebrated *Addison* again :

Austria's

* King *Henry* the VIIIth, in further Consideration of Sir *Ralph's* faithful Service, made him Standard-bearer of *England*, with a Fee of 100 *l. per Annum* ; and from this valiant Gentleman his Grace *Scroop Egerton*, Duke of *Bridgewater* is descended, who married one of the Daughters and Coheirs of the famous *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, whose noble Exploits against the *French*, for the Honour of the *British* Crown ; our Histories are filled with : But 'tis remarkable, this noble Duke's Descendants, who are numerous, have glorious Ancestors both of Father and Mother's side.

† The Right Honourable *George Hervey*, Earl of *Bristol*, is descended from this gallant Officer. The present Earl has living several Sons, and the eldest,

George Lord Hervey, was called up by Writ to the House of Lords on the 12th of *June*, 1733.

‖ From this honourable Gentleman, *William* Lord *Brook* was descended, who had by his Lady three Sons, two of which died young, and his Lordship died in the 33d Year of his Age, on the 28th of *July*, 1727 ; and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by the Right Honourable *Francis Greville* Lord *Brooke*, a young Nobleman just come of Age, and of great Expectation.

§ From this Gentleman his Grace the present Duke of *Somerset* is descended ; his Heir apparent is the truly honourable *Algernon*, Earl of *Hertford* ; whose Daughter married Sir *Hugh Smithson*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Middlesex*.

*Austria's young Prince, whose Imperial sway,
Scepters and Thrones are destin'd to obey,
Whose boasted Ancestry so high extends,
That in the Pagan-gods his Lineage ends,
Comes from a far in Gratitude to own,
The great Supporter of his Grandfire's Throne :
What Tides of Glory to his Bosom ran,
Clasp'd in th' Embraces of the Godlike Man !
How were his Eyes, with pleasing Wonder fixt,
To see such Fire with so much Sweetness mixt :
Such easy Greatness, such a Royal Port,
So turrid and finish'd for the Camp or Court !*

During their Residence here, among other publick Entertainments, there was held solemn Jufts and Tournaments by the King and his Companions. In these warlike Exercises *Brandon* *, Lord *Lisle*, victoriously answered all Combatants. And, though our Monarch mixt Revelling with Arms and fair Ladies, Business was not neglected; for a Treaty was concluded between his Majesty and the Emperor, negotiated by *Wolsey*, and the Dutches, the Purport of which was, — “ That, though the

*The Treaty of
Tourney.*

“ King had bound himself not to pass into Eng-
“ land till the War was ended, yet he should be
“ permitted so to do : — That, during the Winter;
“ the Emperor should keep up 6000 Foot and 4000
“ Horse, as well for the Defence of *Tournay*, as of the
“ Arch-duke's Dominions : — That *Henry* should pay
“ 200,000 Crowns for the Maintenance of those Troops
“ at different Payments. — That, before the 1st of
“ *June* then next, *Henry* should carry the War into
“ *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and the Emperor
“ at the same time should carry the War into some
“ Province of *France* : — That, before the 16th of *May*
VOL. II. B b then

* He was Son of Sir *William* the VIIth, killed at the Battle of *Brandon*, Standard-bearer to *Henry* of *Bosworth*.

“ then next, the Emperor, the Arch-duke, the King
 “ of *England*, Queen *Catharine*, and the Princess *Mary*,
 “ should meet together at *Calais*, and celebrate the
 “ Arch-duke’s Marriage with the Princess *Mary*,
 “ pursuant to the Treaty concluded between the Em-
 “ peror and the late King *Henry* the VIIth.”

This Treaty being agreed to *Margaret* and her Ne-
 phew *Charles* returned to *Eisle*, where the King made
 another Visit, and was received with all imaginable
 Respect ; and on the 15th of *October* the Treaty was
 signed.

Upon this Monsieur *Rapin* makes the following
 Remark.

Rapin’s Re- “ Whatever was to be done *Henry* must
 mark on the “ always find Money ; *Maximilian* had
 Treaty. “ already received 100,000 Crowns of
 “ Gold,* without having executed any of
 “ his Engagements entred into by the Treaty of
 “ *Mecblin*, and found Means to procure 200,000 more
 “ by the present Treaty, besides the Advantage of
 “ razing *Turwine*, which very much annoyed his
 “ Grandson, the Arch-duke’s Dominions ; nay, it is
 “ very probable, the Disgust, that made him quit the
 “ King’s Army, proceeded from his not being able
 “ to persuade him to promise him *Tournay* also,
 “ when taken. This manifestly shews he looked
 “ upon *Henry* as a Novice, easily to be ensnared.
 “ Certainly *Henry*’s many false Steps, in the Begin-
 “ ning of this Reign, can be only excused by his
 “ little Knowledge of the Characters of the Princes
 “ with whom he treated.”

Salmon’s Re- To this and some foregoing Para-
 ply. graphs, which Monsieur *Rapin* wrote
 concerning *Henry* the VIIIth’s Conduct
 at the beginning of his Reign, our honest Country-
 man,

* Here *Rapin* is mistaken ; for the Emperor had only received
 the first Payment of 35,000 Crowns.

man, Mr. *Salmon*, replies, after the following Manner.
 “ And here *Rapin*, observing the Treachery and Bafeness of the Allies of *England*, in not executing any one Part of the Treaty, takes occasion also to reflect on *Henry*’s Weakness, in being made the Dupe or Bubble of all the Princes in *Europe*: But, if every Prince is to be esteemed weak and impolitick, who is deceived and over-reached by crafty faithless Allies, this Censure may be applied to the greatest Monarchs that ever reigned. It is impossible always to guard against a Knave, even if we are endowed with the Wisdom of the sage *Rapin*, who assumes a Liberty of judging and determining the Springs and Motives of every Transaction in the Courts of *Europe*, for near two thousand Years. Nor does he only laugh at *Henry* the VIIIth, for being deceived in his Allies, but declares him guilty of the most egregious Folly, in attacking *France* at all, while that King was engaged in the Conquest of *Italy*. But surely the *French* King’s Territories were already too extensive, neither the King of *England*, or the rest of the Powers of *Europe*, could with any good Policy, sit still and see him add so fine a Country to his Dominions as *Italy*; or, which is much the same Thing, suffer him to gain so much of it as to influence the Pope and the rest of the *Italian* Princes; especially, if we consider, that, at that time of Day, whoever had the Pope in his Power, carried a great Stroke in the Affairs of *Europe*. It may be presumed therefore, that King *Henry* was not at all in the wrong, in endeavouring to prevent the *French* King’s fixing himself in *Italy*, notwithstanding the celebrated *Rapin* has been pleased to pronounce, that he had nothing to do in that War, which seems to proceed purely from *Rapin*’s Concern to see his Countrymen obliged to quit *Italy*, by the Diversion the *English* gave them on this side.”

The *French* Bishop of *Tournay* refused to swear Fealty to the King : So that his Majesty was pleased, in Consideration of *Wolsey's* faithful Service, as well before as during the Campaigne, to prefer him to this Bishoprick ; but *Wolsey* met with great Opposition from the *French* Bishop, the Pope sometimes declaring for him, and at other times for *Wolsey*, just as the Pope's Affairs were successful or unsuccessful in *Italy*. However, *Wolsey* being invested with this See, called the Inhabitants together and tendered them the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *England*, which they cheerfully took.

Whilst *Wolsey* was abroad with the King, he received a Letter from Cardinal *Baynbridge*, still Ambassador at *Rome*, congratulating him, on the Success of the King's Arms, in the following Manner :

“ Brother, Master Almoner, in
Cardinal Bayn- “ my best Manner I commend myself
bridge's Letter to “ unto you, advertising you, that of
Mr. Wolsey. “ Truth such Honour and Nobleness
 “ is here spoken of the King's Grace, by Reason of
 “ his most victorious Enterprizes against the Ene-
 “ mies of the Church, and his other Demeanour,
 “ that his Glory here is esteemed to be immortal :
 “ It is to all his true Subjects, Lovers, and Friends,
 “ Joy and Comfort inestimable, and you may well
 “ be assured it is no less Pain and Sorrow unto our
 “ common Enemy, who here be utterly discouraged.
 “ Would our Lord Jesus it were my Fortune conve-
 “ niently to see there his Grace, you, and other
 “ my Lords, his noble Company, in this his Jour-
 “ ney. I trust there liveth no Man that be more de-
 “ sirous thereunto than I am ; but in the mean time
 “ I shall heartily pray to God for the prosperous Pre-
 “ servation of his Grace, you, and all his good Com-
 “ pany, and add the best and most diligent Service
 “ I can do here for the same.”

Not-

Notwithstanding the base Treatment *Henry* had met with from old *Ferdinand*, yet, when he found the King had been successful in his Expedition, beyond what he desired or expected, he sent an Ambassador to his Majesty at *Lisle*, to complement him on his Victories, offering to enter into a new Treaty, and promising to make amends the succeeding Year for what had been wanting in this. The King received this Ambassador civilly, and, by *Wolsey's* Advice, answered, "he thanked *Ferdinand* for his Compliments, "but, in his Opinion, a new Treaty was useless, "since those already subsisting were sufficient to do "what the Ambassador had proposed in his Master's "Name."

The King made Lord *Montjoy* Governor of *Tournay*, and *Wolsey* made Dr. *Sampson* his Vicar-General of the Diocese, and his Majesty departed from *Lisle* the 17th of *October*, and the 24th arrived safe at *Richmond* Palace, after a glorious Campaign; for so we cannot but call it, considering the small Number of his Forces, and the Disappointments he had met with from his Allies. However, *Ferdinand* as well as the rest, now played his last Game this Campaign, in respect to *England*, being not able the latter part of his Life to make her any more his Dupe; for ever assiduous *Wolsey* kept a better Look-out, for his Master and the Good of his Country, than to be imposed on, either by *German*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, or *French* Tricks of State, and always represented them to the King in so lively a Manner, that he seldom failed of carrying his Point: But the detecting *Ferdinand* certainly drew on him Queen *Catherine's* Resentment, tho' for the present she did not think proper to shew it.

Whilst the King was thus successful abroad, Monsieur de la Motte arrived in *Scotland*, with the most poignant Letters from *Lewis* the XIIIth, in order to stir

Affairs of Scotland and England,
1513.

up King *James* to make War on the *English*, in which the Queen of *France* particularly interfered, by writing to *James* in these Terms: "That she hoped he would for her Sake, (whom he had honoured with the Name of his Mistress in his martial Sports in Time of Peace) march but one Mile upon the *English* Bounds, in the time of an approaching War against her Lord and Country."

The *Scotch* King was easily prevailed on to comply with this Minister's Request, and, to give a Sanction to what he intended, he called his Parliament, to advise with them about a War with *England*; and, they being met, many opposed it, but in vain; others recommended it, knowing the King was bent on it; therefore it was agreed, that a Herald should be sent to King *Henry*, who was then in his Camp before *Turwine*, to require him to forbear carrying on a War against *France*, and to acquaint him, if he refused, that his Master should be under a Necessity to declare War against him. This Herald being arrived at *Henry's* Tent, delivered his Letters on the *French* King's Behalf, which charged our Sovereign with Breach of Faith, particularly in the Case of *Andrew Breton*. To which *Henry* answered, That he had heard nothing but what he had expected from his Master, who was a Despiser of the Laws both of God and Man; therefore he should not desist from a War, began with so much Justice, and so happily carried on hitherto, for any Threats; neither did he care for that Prince's Friendship, of whose Inconstancy he had so often had Experience." With this Answer the *Scotch* Herald returned home, after having pronounced War against *England*: But, before the Herald could reach *Scotland*, *James* had published a Declaration of War, importing,

Scotland declares " Though Princes are not ac-
War against Eng. " countable to any but God alone,
" when Armies are prepared for
" Battle,

“ Battle, they look not so much to what may be
 “ said, as to what ought to be done. The Laws of
 “ Nations and Nature oblige every one to defend him-
 “ self, but the Laws of Sovereignty lay greater O-
 “ bligations upon Monarchs; they, to whom God
 “ hath given States and Kingdoms, are bound not
 “ only to defend them, but to relieve their People
 “ from unjust Oppressions. The many Innovations
 “ and Troubles raised upon all sides about us, the
 “ Wrongs our Subjects have suffered by the Insolenc-
 “ ies and Arrogancies of the Counsellors of *Henry*,
 “ King of *England*, our Brother-in-law, are well
 “ known. Sundry of our Subjects have been taken
 “ Prisoners, and Incurfions have been made up-
 “ on our Borders; the Wardens of our Marshes have
 “ been miserably killed; our Merchants at Sea
 “ have been spoiled of their Goods, the chief Cap-
 “ tains of our Ships put to Death, and all by the
 “ King’s own Commission; and when, by our Ambaf-
 “ sadors, we required Satisfaction, we received no
 “ Justice worthy of him or us.

“ Besides these Outrages, *Henry*, King of *England*,
 “ without any just Cause, hath invaded the Territo-
 “ ries of the King of *France*, and hath rejected our
 “ Requests on that King’s Behalf: And, if our Bro-
 “ ther of *England* should extend his Conquests in that
 “ Country, to what an Extremity would not *Scotland*
 “ be reduced, in having so powerful and ambitious a
 “ Neighbour? This is a good Cause for us at this
 “ Time to take up Arms, which cannot be but just,
 “ since most necessary.

“ We are not ignorant, that here will be objected,
 “ the Breach of a League between our Brother and
 “ us. We have not broken that League, for the
 “ Causes and Reasons we have above assigned. A Na-
 “ tional League is ever to be preferred before any
 “ Personal; and an antient to a new Ally. The League
 “ between

“ between *France* and *Scotland*, having continued many Ages, should justly be preferred before that of *England*, which we, as an Ally of the House of *England*, did contract, and which yet we are most willing to keep ; for we declare and manifest, that, if our Brother shall leave off the Invasion of *France*, and give Satisfaction for the Wrongs done our Subjects, that we will disband our Forces, and are content, that all Matters in Difference shall be amicably decided, and in the mean time consent to a Truce, or Cessation of Arms, till a perfect and lasting Peace can be concluded.”

The Earl of *Surry*, upon Notice of this Declaration, collected together what Forces he could, in order to oppose the *Scotch*.

King *James* likewise mustered his Army in the *Barrow-moor* of *Edinburgh*; (a Field then delightfully shaded by several stately Oaks) where appeared many Burgesses, Gentlemen, Barons, and Noblemen : However, the Earl of *Angus* endeavoured to persuade him from his intended Expedition, many of the Clergy did the same ; and his Queen with Tears and Prayers begged him to give over his Enterprize, acquainting him with the frightful Visions of her Sleep ;

and Mr. *Drummond* says, “ She further
Queen Margaret's “ represented to him, that he was to
Speech to the King “ fight a mighty People, now turned
her Husband. “ insolent by their Riches at home
 “ and Power abroad ; that his Nobility were indigent, and might be bribed to leave him in the greatest Danger ; therefore what a Folly, what a Blindness is it, to make the War yours, and to quench the Fire in your Neighbour's House of *France*, to kindle up one in *Scotland* ! You have no such Reason to assist the *French*, as you have to keep your Promises to *England*, and enjoy Peace at home. Tho' the *English* should make a Conquest of *France*, will they take your Crown, and disin-

“ heris

" herit their own Race? This is even as if the
 " Left-hand would cut off the Right: Should the Let-
 " ter of the Queen of *France* (a Woman twice mar-
 " ried, the first half in Adultery, and the last almost in
 " Incest, whom you did never, or scarce ever will
 " see) prove more powerful with you, than the
 " Cries of your little Son, and my Tears; then, if
 " you will go, suffer me to accompany you: It may
 " be my Countrymen will prove more kind towards
 " me, than they will to you; and for my Sake yield
 " unto a Peace. I hear the Queen, my Sister, will
 " be with the Army in her Husband's Absence; and,
 " if we should meet, who knows what God, by our
 " Means, may bring to pass."

The King answered all his Queen's Complaints with
 a speedy March, which he made over the *Twede*,
 attended by the greatest Part of his Forces, and Sir
*Duncan Forrester**, Master of his Household, not stay-
 ing till they were all got together; but the Remainder
 kept following him every Day.

The 22d of *August* he entered *England*, and en-
 camped near the Water of *Twisel-baugh*, where he
 made an Order, " That, if any of his Men should be
 " killed by the *Englisk* during this War, his Heir
 " should have his Relief and Marriage;" and soon
 after assaulted *Norbam-castle*, and destroyed it and other
 Places.

But, before he had been 18 Days in *England*,
 the Earl of *Surry*, at the Head of his Army, reached
 within a few Miles of the *Scotch*. His Van-guard was
 led by his two Sons, the Lord *Thomas*† and Sir *Edmund*

VOL. II.

C c

Howard,

* From this Gentleman the
 present Right Honourable *Wil-*
liam Lord Forrester, Captain of
 the *Lark* Man of War, is de-
 scended; which Trust he has
 hitherto discharged with the
 greatest Fidelity and Honour.

† From this brave Man the
 late Lord *Howard of Effingham*
 was descended; and had two Sons,
Thomas and *Francis*. Upon his
 Death he was first succeeded in
 Honour and Estate by the Eldest;
 and then by the Youngest; but,
 both

Howard, and under them, *Sir Richard Cholmondeley*, *Sir John Booth**, *John Harley*†, Esq; and several others; the Rear of his Army was brought up by *Sir Edward Stanley* and *Sir William Molineux*‡, whilst the Lord *Dacres* commanded a Body of Horse, kept as a Reserve. In this Order the Army proceeded to meet the *Scotch*; but the Earl, finding the Country had been miserably pillaged and foraged by them, it so exasperated him, that he sent a Herald with a Trumpet to give King *James* Notice, that, as he had violated his Faith and League, and entered *England* in an hostile Manner, he had fixt *Friday* then next to give him Battle: The King replied, by a Herald of his own, that he would not fail to abide a Battle with the Earl on the Day appointed.

The Battle of Floddon-Field.

The Earl then advanced within three Miles of *Floddon*, and, finding King *James's* Army on a Hill, he sent a second Message in Writing, signed not only by himself, but

both dying without Issue, the Title and Estate came to the present Right Honourable *Francis Earl of Effingham*, created the 8th of *December*, 1731, the 5th of *George* the 1st; and at the same time the Earl's 3d Son was made Deputy Earl Marshal of *England*, void by the Death of the Earl of *Suffex*.

* This Gentleman was knighted by *Henry* the VIIth, and was killed in the Battle at *Floddon-Field*, and from this gallant Officer the present Right Honourable *George Booth*, Earl of *Warrington*, is descended.

† *John Harley*, Esq; greatly signalized himself in the same Battle, who was possessed of a considerable Estate in *Herefordshire*, from whom the late *Robert Harley*, created Earl of *Ox-*

ford and *Mortimer* by her late Majesty Queen *Ann*, was descended; upon whose Death his Honour and Estate devolved on *Edward*, his only Son, who married the sole Daughter and Heiress of *John Holles*, late Duke of *Newcastle*, by whom he had one Daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, married, *July* the 11th, 1734, to his Grace the Duke of *Portland*; and, as his Lordship died without Issue Male, he was succeeded in his Honour by the Right Honourable *Edward Harley*, now Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*.

‡ *Sir William* behaved so well at *Floddon-Field*, that he took two Streamers which are now in the Family, from whom the Right Honourable *Carol Molineux* Viscount *Molineux*, is descended.

but by his Sons, and the principal Officers of his Army, in which they challenged him to come down from his Fortifications, and fight them in the Plain (called *Misfield*) that was between them: But the Earl, not receiving a satisfactory Answer, removed to such a Situation as enabled them to intercept the Provisions designed for the *Scotch* Army; which the King perceiving, he ordered his Tents to be set on Fire, that, under Covert of the Smoak, he might alter his Station, but still kept the High Ground. The fatal Hour of the Battle approaching, the Earl traversed the Morassy Bottom, and lighted upon a Bank, where the Ascent was not very steep; and King *James*, apprehending it would now be for his Advantage to attack the *English*, exhorted his Men to behave like Soldiers, and immediately to join Battle.

The *Scotch* Army marched up in four Battalions, three of which entered the Fight, and the fourth kept as a Reserve; the King led the middle or Main; the Earl of *Huntly* commanded the Right-wing of the Van, the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montrose* led the other, and the third was commanded by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*. The two Armies, being thus disposed, immediately engaged; the Earls of *Argyle* and *Lenox* put Sir *Edmund Howard* into some Confusion, but Lord *Dacres* coming to his Assistance, they recovered the Fight; Lord *Thomas* pursued his Cause better, tho' the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montrose* made a brave Opposition; the King's Battalion and that of the Earl of *Surry*'s sustained a long and cruel Fight; but Sir *Edward Stanley* with his Archers forcing the *Scotch* to descend the Hill, in order to avoid their Showers of Arrows, gave the first Hopes of Victory to the *English*, which the King perceiving he redoubled his Courage: In the mean time the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Edward Stanley* defeated their Opposites, at which Instant the Lord *Dacres* came up with the Horse, which so galled the *Scotch*, that they

they threw themselves into a Ring for their last Defence. No Man performed more than the King himself, who, perceiving the Wings of his Army distressed and gone, and that the Enemy began to encompass them, with a stout Resolution encouraged his Men, "willing them to regard the Person of their King, their own Honour, their valiant Ancestors, and this present Occasion; that their Blood might be bought dear to the *English*, and the *Scottish* Valour recorded for ever, for this one Day's Work;" and thereupon he rushed among the thickest of his Enemies, renewed the Fight, and, piercing thro' with a strong Hand, almost overturned the Earl's Standard;

James the IVth but himself, most valiantly fighting, was killed. slain in the midst of his Enemies. In this Engagement the *Scotch* lost not only most of their Nobility, but 10,000 common Soldiers; and all their Ordnance, with the Culverins, called the *Seven Sisters*, were taken.

Hear the immortal Poet:

*But O, my Muse, what Numbers wilt thou find
To sing the furious Troops in Battel join'd!
Metbinks I hear the Drums tumultous sound,
The Victors Shouts and dying Groans confound;
The dreadful Burst of Cannon rend the Skies,
And all the Thunder of the Battel rise.
'Twas then great Surry's mighty Soul was prov'd,
That, in the Shock of charging Hosts unmov'd,
Amidst Confusion, Horror, and Despair,
Examined all the dreadful Scenes of War:
In peaceful Thought the Field of Death survey'd,
To fainting Squadrons sent the timely Aid,
Inspir'd repuls'd Battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful Battel where to rage.*

*But, Oh Prince unfortunate! who can name
The Pangs of Rage, of Sorrow, and of Shame,
That*

*That with mixt Tumult in thy Bosom swell'd,
When first thou saw'st thy bravest Troops repell'd.*

*Our English Muse is touch'd with gen'rous Woe,
And in th' unhappy King forgets the Foe.*

Mr. Drummond gives us the Names of many of those who were killed in this Battle, valiantly fighting for their Prince; among whom were the King's natural Son, *Alexander*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew*, the Bishop of the *Isles*, the Abbots of *Inchjeffray* and *Kill-winny*, the Earls of *Crawford**, *Morton*†, *Argyle*‡, *Lenox*§, *Errol*,

* From this Peer the Brave and Right Honourable *John Lindsay*, Earl of *Crawford*, one of the Sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, is descended, a Nobleman who has already highly distinguished himself both in the Senate and in the Field.

† From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, is descended in a direct Line.

‡ From this Peer his Grace *John*, Duke of *Argyle* and *Greenwich*, the Right Honourable *Archibald*, Earl of *Isle*, (a great Civilian and Statesman) and the Right Honourable *John Campbell*, Earl of *Bredalbin*, are descended. The noble Duke's Conduct in the Field, the Senate, and the Cabinet, is so well known it needs not our Recital; and we make no doubt, but some abler Pen will in due time favour the World with it.

§ The Title of Duke of *Lenox*, being some Years since extinct, was, by his Majesty, King *Charles* the II^d, conferred on *Charles*, late Duke of *Rich-*

mond, (only Son of that Prince, by her Grace the Dutches of *Portsmouth*) whose Son *Charles*, Earl of *March*, served his Country in Parliament, in his Father's Life-time, for the City of *Chichester* and the Borough of *Newport*, and, upon his Death, succeeded him in his Honour and Estate; so that his Grace *Charles*, the present most noble, generous, and humane Duke of *Richmond*, has at this Day no less than three Dukedoms, viz. *Richmond*, *Lenox*, and *Aubigny* in *France*; the last of which is a very considerable Dutchy, and was conferred on her Grace, the Dutches of *Portsmouth*, at the Instance and Request of his Majesty, King *Charles* the II^d, and was formerly possessed by that famous Soldier *Robert Stuart*, Lord of *Aubigny*, generally called the *Scot*, (who we have often mentioned in our First Volume) which was given to his Father *John Stuart* by King *Charles* the VIIth of *France*, in Consideration of his faithful Services done the *French* Crown, in the various Wars that Kingdom had been engaged in, in different Parts of *Europe*.

*Errol*¹, *Cassils*², *Botbwell*, *Atboll*³, *Huntsley*⁴, and *Montrose*⁵; the Lords *Elphinston*⁶, *Arreskine*⁷, *Forbes Ross*⁸, *Lover*⁹, (and no less than Seventy-eight Gentlemen of his Name) *Saintclair*,¹⁰ *Maxwel*¹¹, (with his three Brothers) *Semple*, *Borthwicke*,

¹ This brave Nobleman was the fourth Earl of *Errol*, and the present Right Honourable the Earl of *Errol* is descended from him.

² From this Nobleman the present Right Honourable *John Kennedy*, Earl of *Cassils*, is descended.

³ From this Nobleman his Grace *James*, Duke of *Atbol*, is descended; a Touch of whose Descent we have already given Vol. I. p. 22.

⁴ This Nobleman was the third Earl of *Huntsley*, and the present most Illustrious *Cosmos George Gordon*, Duke of *Gordon*, is descended from this valiant Peer; as is also the Right Honourable *William Gordon*, Earl of *Aberdeen*.

⁵ From this Illustrious Nobleman his Grace *James Graham*, Duke of *Montrose*, is descended; who has happily married the Honourable the Lady *Lucy Manners*, Daughter of her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of *Rutland*.

⁶ From this Peer the present Right Honourable *Charles Lord Elphinston* is descended; as is also the Right Honourable *James Elphinston*, Lord *Balmarrino*.

⁷ From this Nobleman the late unfortunate but most famous Earl of *Marr* was descended, (whose Exploits at *Dumblain*, and what was transacted at that Time, is fresh in every one's Memory) as is also the present Right Honourable *David Earl of Buchan*.

⁸ From this Nobleman the present Right Honourable *William Ross*, Lord *Ross*, is descended.

⁹ From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *Simon Fraser*, Lord *Lover*, is descended.

¹⁰ From this Nobleman the present Right Honourable *Henry Saintclair*, Lord *Saintclair*, is descended.

¹¹ From this Nobleman the late unfortunate *William Maxwell*, Earl of *Nithsdale*, is descended who being under Sentence of Death in the Tower, the 2d of *K. George the 1st*, the Night before his intended Execution, found Means to make his Escape; which being reported to his Majesty, the humane old King replied, *I am glad of it, I wish him a good Journey; and should not have been in the least displeased, if the other two unhappy Gentlemen (the Lords Derwentwater and Kinmare) had done the like.*

wicke, George Lord Seaton ¹, John Hay ², Lord Tetter, Macklellan ³, Baron of Bomby; George Master of Angus, Sir William Douglas ⁴, of Glenberwy, (with two hundred Gentlemen of his Name and Vassals) Sir David Weems ⁵, Sir Alexander Napier, Knight ⁶, Son to the Lord Provost of Edinburg; John Carnegie ⁷, John Kennedy ⁸, Alexander Stuart, and Kenneth Macken-

¹ From this Nobleman the late unhappy George Seaton, Earl of Winton, is descended, who was convicted of High-Treason in March, 1715; but found Means to escape from his Confinement in the Month of August following; after whom there has not been the least Inquiry since; which, we think, in some Degree shews the commendable Lenity of our Superiors of late Years, who otherwise might certainly have found out his Refuge.

² From this Nobleman the most Honourable John, Marquis of Tweedale, is descended, now Secretary of State for North-Britain, allowed by all to be a Nobleman of very great Accomplishments.

³ From this Gentleman the Right Honourable Macklellan, Lord Kirkcubright, is descended.

⁴ From this Gentleman the noble Peers, Charles Duke of Queensbury and Dover, and Archibald, Duke of Douglass, are descended; whose Ancestors have, from the Beginning, shone in all the high Stations they have been placed in. In short, the most noble and famous Family of the Douglas's have at all Times, been renowned for their Loyalty and faithful Ser-

vices to their Prince and Country, whose Cause they have ever readily defended.

⁵ From this Gentleman the Right Honourable Francis Napier, Lord Napier, is descended.

⁶ From this Gentleman the present Right Honourable James Carnegie, Earl of Southesk, Captain of the Preston Man of War, is descended; and David Carnegie, Earl of Northesk is of the same Family.

⁷ From this Gentleman the late gallant Soldier, Charles Lord Cathcart, one of the Sixteen Peers for Scotland, was descended. He was Commander in Chief of the British Land-forces on Board the Fleet, sent in 1740, under the Command of Sir Chaloner Ogle, to the West-Indies, to re-inforce Admiral Vernon; but died in his Passage to Jamaica, to the no small Loss of the whole Nation, being a Commander it had great Expectations from, and therefore his Death was generally lamented.

⁸ From this Gentleman (who greatly distinguished himself in the Engagement) the present Right Honourable James Stuart, Earl of Galloway, is descended.

*Mackenzie**. The Battle was fought on the 9th of September, about four of the Clock in the Afternoon and continued above three Hours, where many of the Nobility and Gentry were killed, besides those we have mentioned, who chose rather to die, than out-live their gracious and religious King; and on the *English* side about 5000 fell, but few of Note.

George Buchanan relates, "That the King intending to make War with *England*, a certain old Man of venerable Aspect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came to King *James*, and, leaning familiarly on his Chair, said, *I am sent to thee, O King, to give thee Warning, that thou proceedest not in the War thou art about; for, if thou dost, it will be thy Ruin*; and, having so said, he prest through the Company, and vanished out of Sight. Strict Enquiry was made after this Man, but to no Purpose, nor was it known what became of him: Yet the King was so resolute as not to be frightened with Phantasms, nor could any Warning divert him from pursuing what he had projected, which ended in his Death, in the 25th Year of his Reign, and the 39th of his Age."

King *James*'s Character was this: Vigorous in Body, just in Judgment; in punishing Malefactors severe, yet tractable and moderate when Cause appeared; he restrained Vices rather by shaking the Sword, than in striking with it. He knew there were many Things that Princes might, yet ought not to do. He was easy of Access, courteous in Speech, and of a free and liberal Disposition; far from Ostentation; and, though he delighted more in Fighting and

* From this Gentleman *Kenneth Mackenzie*, Earl of *Seaforth*, is descended, who, being in the Rebellion in the Year 1715, a Reward of 6000 *l.* was offered for taking him; but, in

the Year 1726, he obtained his late Majesty King *George* the 1st's Pardon, and return'd home. The Right Honourable ——— *Mackenzie*, Earl of *Cromarty*, is of this Family.

and praying, than in Learning; was a great Admirer and Advancer of learned Men. The Bishop of *Aberdeen* built, by *James's* Liberality, the College at *Aberdeen*, and named it, *The King's College*.

“ It's no Wonder, (observes Mr. *Drumond*, from
 “ whom we have extracted this Character) amidst so
 “ much Worth, that some humane Frailty should be
 “ found: There is no Day so bright and fair, which
 “ at one Moment or other looketh not pale; he
 “ was somewhat wedded to his own Humour, Actions
 “ of Rashness, and Temerity; and such, even tho'
 “ they may have an happy Event, are never Praise-
 “ worthy in a Prince. He was so infected with that
 “ illustrious Crime, Desire of Fame, which the Am-
 “ bitious take for Virtue, that he preferred it to his
 “ Life, and the Peace of his Subjects.

“ Though Virtue is sometimes unfortunate, yet
 “ it is ever in high Esteem in the Memory of Men:
 “ Such Love for him remained in the Hearts of
 “ his People after his Death, that the like was not
 “ of any King before him. In short, he serves for
 “ an Example of the Frailty of great Men on the
 “ Theatre of this World, and of the Inconstancy of all
 “ sublunary Things.”

All *Historians* agree, that *James* the IVth was one of the best Princes the *Scotch* lost in the whole Succession of their Kings. His Body, it seems, being inclosed in Lead, for a good while remained unburied, which King *Henry* said was but a due Punishment for one who had perjuriouſly broken his League.

At last the Body was interred; but, as *James* died under the Sentence of Excommunication before the Rites of Christian Burial could be performed, it was necessary a Dispensation should be obtained from *Rome*, which *Leo* the Xth granted in the first Year of his Pontificate, and in the Letter he wrote to King

Henry, he states how *James* became excommunicated ; and then says, “ He was charitably persuaded, that “ *King James* in his last Moments, exercised such suitable Acts of Contrition, as the Circumstances of the “ Time would admit, and therefore granted a Licence “ for his Body to be buried with such funeral Rites and “ Solemnities as his Majesty should hold requisite ; “ and that the Bishop of *London*, or any other Bishop, “ might absolve *James* before the Body was interred, “ provided *Henry*, in the Name of the deceased King, “ should himself undergo some convenient Penance ; ” which was accordingly done.

Some *Scotch* Writers nevertheless will have it, that the King was not killed in the Battle, though they admit he was never heard of afterwards. On the other hand its affirmed, that the King’s Body was found by the Lord *Dacres*, who shewed him to Sir *William Scott*, King *James*’s Chancellor, and to Sir *John Forman*, who knew him at first Sight : And, *Stow* says expressly, “ That *James*’s Body was buried at *West-shene*, a Monastery near *Richmond* in “ *Surry*, founded by *Henry* the Vth, where he had “ seen it, after the Dissolution of that Monastery, “ wrapped in Lead, and thrown into an old Room “ among some Lumber and Rubbish.” If this Account be true, the Body of this heroick King met with very unworthy Treatment from the Person who then possessed this Monastery *.

Lewis

* The vulgar Opinion of the People at *Richmond* at this Day is, that, upon the Dissolution of the Religious Houses, the Body of this Prince was dug up, and found wrapped in Lead ; and that it was afterwards deposited over a large Gateway, belonging to the Monastery, where it now

remains, and their Reason for it is, that the present Possessor of the Monastery Sir *John Buckworth*, Bart. will neither suffer the Gateway to be pulled down, or any Person to go upon it, in order to prevent this unhappy Prince’s Ashes being a second time disturbed.





Lewis the XIIth's Case was now so deplorable he was obliged to petition his Holiness to take pity on an unfortunate Son, who had seen the Error of his Way, and supplicated to be taken into the Bosom of the Church.

Lewis the XIIth submits to the Pope.

Leo the Xth readily granted his humble Petition, and only required him to dissolve the Council of *Pisa*, and send Ambassadors to *Rome*, to make a proper Submission in the *Lateran* Council, and to receive his Holiness's Absolution. This they solemnly did in the 9th Session of that Council, held about the End of *December*, when the Pope was pleased to absolve *Lewis* and his People from the Ecclesiastical Censures before-mentioned.

Upon this the Pope sent a Letter to King *Henry*, remonstrating, "as his Majesty had taken up Arms for the Defence of the Church and the Holy See, and obtained the End proposed, he now hoped he would lay down his Arms, since the Prince, who had oppressed the Church, was become sensible of his Error, had made Satisfaction, and was again received into his Bosom.

Leo the Xth writes to Henry the VIIIth.

Nothing could be more pleasing to King *Henry* and his Prime Minister, *Wolsey*, than this Letter, which gave the King a fair Opportunity to disengage himself from a War he began to be tired of, on account of the Disingenuousness of his Allies.

Henry, being gratefully sensible of the Services his faithful Subjects had done him, both at Home and Abroad, during this Campaign, was pleased to reward them with various Promotions; particularly he wrote to Sir *Richard Cholmondeley*, and other valiant Gentlemen, to thank them for their good Conduct in the Engagement at *Flodden-field*: That to Sir *Richard* was as follows.

The King shows great Favours to several of his Subjects.

*His Majesty's Letter to Sir Richard Cholmondley.**

“ Trusty and well-beloved, We
 “ greet you well, and understand, as
 “ well by the Report of our Right
 “ trusty Cousin and Counseller, the
 “ Earl of *Surry*, and others, what acceptable Service
 “ you, among others, lately did unto us, by your valiant
 “ Towardness in assisting of our said Cousin against
 “ our great Enemy, the late King of *Scots*; and how
 “ courageously you, as a very hearty loving Subject,
 “ acquitted yourself for the Overthrow of the said
 “ late King, and distressed his Malice and Power, to
 “ our great Honour and the advancing of your no
 “ little Fame and Praise; for which we have good
 “ Cause to favour and thank you, and so we full
 “ heartily do; and assured may you be, that We
 “ shall in such effectual wise remember your said Service,
 “ in any your reasonable Pursuits, as you shall
 “ have Cause to think the same right well employed,
 “ to your Comfort and Weal hereafter. Given under
 “ our Signet, at our Castle of *Windsor*, the 27th of
 “ *November*.”

Soon after his Majesty was pleased to constitute Sir *Richard* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; and created *Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle*, Duke of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Herbert*, Earl of *Worcester* †, the Earl

* From this Gentleman the present Right Hon. *George* Earl of *Cholmondley* is descended; who married the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, and has had three Sons by his Lady, (of whom *George* Lord *Malpas*, and *Robert* are now living, besides a Daughter) who died in the Year 1732.

† From this brave General, his Grace *Henry Somerset* Scud-

more, Duke of *Beaufort*; and the Right Hon. *William Herbert*, Marquis of *Powis*, are descended: And of this Family is also the Right Honourable *Henry Herbert*, the present worthy and magnanimous Earl of *Pembroke*, whose great Merit and Qualifications have caused him to be commissioned, among others not less worthy, with the high Trust of Lord Justice in his Majesty's Absence, more than once; and who

Earl of *Surry*, Duke of *Norfolk**, and the Lord *Thomas Howard**, his Son, Earl of *Surry*, with an Augmentation of the *Scotch Arms*.

Strype observes, that *Wolsey* at this time endeavoured to convince his Master of what Advantage Trade was to his People, which made the King encourage it, by giving Letters of safe Conduct to his Merchants for their Ships; and when they sustained any Damages, by foreign Princes or States, the King instantly required Satisfaction by his Ambassadors, one Instance of which we shall here mention.

His Majesty had granted a very extraordinary Letter of Marque to *Thomas Barnaby*, an eminent Merchant of *London*, for himself, Servants, Factors, Attorneys, Denizens, or Strangers to traffick in all manner of Commodities in all Places and at all Times, during a certain Term of Years. And *Margaret of Savoy* had at this Juncture prohibited Bay-salt and Wine,

who is allowed by all to be a General of equal Courage and Merit with any of his most gallant Predecessors.

* The Duke was Son of *John Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, by his first Wife, *Catherine*, Daughter of *William Lord Molins*. Duke *John* had done King *Edward* the IVth great Services in his Wars in *France*, for which he summoned him to his Parliament in Quality of a Baron of his Kingdom, Anno 1471. In the first Year of King *Rich.* the IIIrd he was constituted Earl-marshal of *England*, and preferred to the Dignity of Duke of *Norfolk*. To this Title he had a Right as a Descendant from the Female Heirs of *Mowberry* and *Segrave*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, who derived their Pedigree from *Thomas Brotherton*,

(Son of *K. Edward* the Ist) Duke of *Norfolk*. Duke *John* did not long enjoy his Honours and vast Estate; for, espousing the Interest of *Richard* the IIIrd (out of Gratitude for the many Favours he had conferred on him) and heading the Army in *Bosworth-field*, he was there killed. He was buried at *Thetford*, and attainted by Parliament in the first Year of *Henry* the VIIth, as before-observed, Vol. I. page 30, this Duke was made Earl of *Surry*, much about the Time his Father was created Duke of *Norfolk*, but he had the good Fortune to survive the Battle at *Bosworth*, and afterwards obtained the different Preferments before and now related; from whom the present most illustrious Duke of *Norfolk* is descended.

Wine, of the Growth of *France*, from being brought into *Flanders*, upon Pain of forfeiting the same, which interfering with the King's Licence to *Barnaby*, who traded chiefly in *French* Goods, the King sent a Letter to Dr. *Knight*, his Ambassador at the Dutcheſs's Court, to ſolicit her to permit *Barnaby* to diſpoſe of what Goods he had brought into her Territories; and was ſo zealous to ſerve this Merchant, that he ſent Sir *John Wallop* to aſſiſt *Knight* in the Solicitation, in order to obtain what was deſired and which they at laſt effected.

Wolfey interpoſing ſo early on Behalf of the Trading Part of his Maſteſty's Subjects, they conceived great hopes, that the Affairs of State would be well conducted under his Adminiſtration, which gained him the general Eſteem of the People.

The Victories both in *France* and at *Flodden-field* were ſo ſeaſonable, that Fortune ſeemed to offer herſelf to *Henry's* Embraces, and raiſed in all Men great Expectations of his future Glory and Succeſs. In ſhort his Affairs were in ſo good a Situation, that all the neighbouring Princes both courted and dreaded him; which made the Concluſion of the Year 1513 very agreeable.

*The Proceedings
of the fourth
Parliament,
1514.*

THE King having ordered the Parliament to aſſemble, on the 23d of *January* they met, when, in a ſhort Speech, he laid before them the Succeſſes of his Arms the laſt Year, both againſt the *French* and the *Scotch*, which was extremely well received by both Houſes; but we do not find that the King aſked any further Supplies,

In this Parliament, *Margaret*, Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, late Wife of *Richard de la Pole*, Knt. petitioned, that, ſince, by Act of Parliament, the 19th
of

of Henry the VIIIth, Edward, Earl of Warwick, was declared a Traytor, and his Lands forfeited, it would please the King she might inherit, as being Sister and next of Blood, his State and Dignity, by being stiled Countess of Sarum, which was granted. The Parliament passed these Laws*, and then were dissolved.

Soon after the Rising of the Parliament a Commotion happened in London on the following Occasion: The People of *Islington, Hockston, and Shoreditch* had so inclosed their Grounds, that it debarred the Citizens from their accustomed Freedom of Walking and Exercises, the Apprentices thereupon rose and soon levelled those Hedges and Ditches, being excited thereto by a *Turner*, running through the Streets in a Fool's Coat, crying out for Shovels and Spades; for which Sir George Monox, the Lord Mayor, was sent for to attend Bishop Wolsey, who gently reprimanded his Lordship, for not taking care to preserve the Peace of the City, and dismissed him with an Exhortation to that End, which had the desired Effect.

About this time a Matter happened that made a great Noise, Dr. *Horsley*, *Spiritual Court Proceedings.* Chancellor to the Bishop of London, had convened one *John Hum*, of London, before him, on Suspicion of *Heresy*, and, by Virtue of his Authority, committed him to the *Lollards Tower*, which was a Prison of the Bishop's at *St. Paul's*. A Misunderstanding had subsisted some time, between this Doctor *Horsley* and *Hum*, on the score of a Premature

* I. To direct the Length and Breadth of White Straits made in *Devonshire*, and the Mark of the Maker to be fixed.

II. To direct what Cloths may be transported abroad unshorn, and what not.

III. To punish Persons who use Deceits in Worsted, by drying them, &c.

IV. To direct who shall be returned upon Juries in London.

V. To discharge Surgeons from serving as Conitables, beating of Armour, or being put upon Watches or Inquests, upon Account of their daily and nightly Attendance on their Patients.

nire brought against the Doctor at *Hun's* Suit, the Occasion of which, as *Fox* relates, was this : A Clergyman claimed the Bearing-sheet of *Hun's* deceased Child, as a Mortuary, which *Hun* refusing to give, he was sued in the Spiritual Court. *Hun's* Counsel on this advised him to bring a *Premunire* against the Clerk, for suing the King's Subjects in a foreign Court. That the Bishop's Court was foreign he pretended to prove, because the Court sat by Authority from the Legate: But *Fox* seems here to be doubly mistaken ; for, 1st, the Bishop of *London*, in whose Court *Hun* was sued, had no legatine Commission, but acted upon his ordinary Jurisdiction : Besides, here were no Bulls or Instruments procured from the Pope, or any thing made use of in the Name of the See of *Rome*. 2^{dly}, If, by a Stretch of Construction, the Bishop of *London* should be said to be an Abettor of a foreign Jurisdiction, because he did not formally disclaim the Legatine Authority, it may be observed, that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* have been all along stiled the Pope's Legate, from the Reign of *Henry* the 1st down to the Reformation, and yet their Jurisdiction was never disputed.

Whilst this Suit was depending *Hun* was questioned for Heresy and imprisoned, who being afterwards found dead in his Chamber, Dr. *Horsey* and the Keeper affirmed he had hanged himself ; but their Relation being doubted the Coroner's Inquest sat on the Body, and, acquitting him of being *Felo-de-se*, laid the Murder on the Officers that had the Charge of the Prison.

During the time the Inquest was thus proceeding the Bishop began a new Process against *Hun*, for other Points of Heresy. The Articles against him are said to be deduced out of *Wickliff's* Preface to the Bible, which, being found in *Hun's* Possession, passed for Evidence ; so that he was pronounced a Heretick, and his
Body

Body was delivered to the Sheriff, and burnt in *Smithfield*.

Fox makes a tragical Representation of this Matter, and, if his Narrative be true, the Proceedings were very extraordinary: But, to give the Reader a more distinct View of his Case, we here give the Articles themselves as they stand in *Fox*.

1st, "He is charged to have taught, published, and obstinately defended, that the Clergy had no Right to demand *Tytbes*, and that the Priests heed nothing but their own Covetousness.

2^{dly}, "That he maintained and published, that Bishops and Priests are the Scribes and Pharisees that condemned, and crucified Christ.

3^{dly}, "That he taught and maintained, that Bishops and Priests preach one way and live another, that they mind no Part of their Function, that Avarice and Rapine was their Business, that they took every thing and gave nothing."

The 4th Article objected to him was, his Defence of the Opinion of *Joan Baker*.

Hun, in his Answer, denied the Objections charged on him, as they are couched in the Articles: However, he owned his having spoken Words from which might be drawn such a Construction; for this he professed himself sorry, begged God's Pardon, and submitted himself to the Bishop's Correction.

As to the Depositions concerning *Hun's* Murder, *Fox* gives an Account of the Bishop's Proceedings upon the dead Body, that the Cause was afterwards brought before the Parliament, and that the King ordered *Hun's* Goods to be restored: For these Transactions *Fox* vouches, that the Records of the Proceedings were then in the Hands of *Hun's* Grandson: But the famous Sir *Thomas More* relates the Matter quite different from *Fox*, who is allowed to be a Gentleman of Character, lived in *London* when the Case happened, and answered a Pamphlet, called, *The*

Supplication of Beggars, wherein he takes off the Imputation of Guilt, charged on Dr. *Horsey* and the Bishop of *London*.

For, the Author of the said Pamphlet advancing, that Dr. *Horsey* purchased the King's Pardon for murdering of *Hun*, Sir *Thomas More* positively denies it, and says, "There was never any Attempt made to procure a Pardon, but that, after a considerable time, when the Matter had been examined to the Bottom, the King was satisfied, that Dr. *Horsey*, and those brought into Trouble with him, were wrongfully charged with the Murder. Upon this, when they were arraigned upon an Indictment, and pleaded Not Guilty, he ordered the Attorney-general to allow their Plea, and discharge them."

But, that *Wolsey* might come in for a share of the Reflections thrown on those concerned in carrying on the Prosecution against *Hun*, the learned Bishop *Burnet*, in his *History of the Reformation*, tells us, "That *Hun* having been sued in the Spiritual Court, for a Mortuary which he refused to pay, and in Revenge prosecuted the Clerk who brought that Action against him in a Premunire, for bringing the King's Subjects before a Foreign Court, the Spiritual Court sitting by Authority from the Legate: This touched the Clergy so to the quick, that they used all the Arts they could to fasten Heresy on him." His Relation of *Hun's* Death we shall not repeat, but pursue the Prosecutions against those charged with it: "The Bishop of *London* (says *Burnet*) finding that the Inquest went on (against *Horsey* and others touching *Hun's* Death) and the whole Matter discovered, used all possible Endeavours to stop the Proceedings; and they were often brought before the King's Council, where it was pretended, that it proceeded from Malice and Heresy; and the Cardinal laboured to procure an Order to forbid their going any further; but the Thing was both

“ so foul, and so evident, that it could not be done.”
 To this Dr. *Fiddes* replies: “ I think it incumbent on
 “ me, in Regard to Truth and Equity, and to a se-
 “ cret Insinuation, as the Case is here represented,
 “ to *Wolsey's* Disadvantage, to make some transient
 “ Remarks on these several Particulars; for the very
 “ Matter of Fact, which is the Foundation of the
 “ Story, is wrong stated.

“ I. *Hun* did not sue the Clerk, who demanded
 “ a Mortuary for bringing him before a Foreign Court,
 “ but for citing him into the Spiritual Court, for a
 “ Matter, as he pleaded, that was only triable at
 “ Common Law.

“ II. That the Court, wherein *Hun* was prosecuted,
 “ did not sit by Authority from the Legate, the Per-
 “ son against whom this seemed to be designed, if the
 “ Bishop had any intelligible Meaning in it, was not
 “ then Legate, or so much as Cardinal, or Archbishop.

“ III. That *Hun's* Suit could not touch the Clergy
 “ to the Quick, as his Lordship represents, because
 “ it was allowed by the Judges, at the Common
 “ Law, that the Matter in Dispute was properly cog-
 “ nizable in the Spiritual Court.

“ IV. That it was impossible *Wolsey*, as Cardinal,
 “ could labour to stop their going farther into the En-
 “ quiry, in Relation to *Hun's* Death; for then he had
 “ not obtained that Dignity; and, as to the Spiritual
 “ Court, where *Hun* was prosecuted, the Chancellor
 “ acted in Vertue of the Bishop of *London's* ordinary
 “ Jurisdiction, without any Bulls, Instruments, or
 “ other Process obtained from *Rome*.

“ V. As to what the learned Bishop says of the
 “ *Foulness* and *Evidence* of the *Murder*, if we are to
 “ believe what Sir *Thomas More* has related, it seems
 “ quite otherwise.”

To sum up this Matter in a few Words, the Bi-
 shop of *London* asserted his Chancellor's Innocence to
 the last; and it cannot be presumed that the Bishop,

from the Character he bore in the World, would have so done, or any way countenanced his Chancellor, had he believed that *Hun* was murdered in the Manner *Fox* represented it.

Godwin, a *Protestant* Divine of the Church of *England*, tells us, "That *Richard Fitz James*, Dr. of Law, was a Gentleman of an antient House, learned and very virtuous. He was first Bishop of *Rockester*, in the Year 1496; translated from thence to *Cbichester*, in the Year 1504; and from *Cbichester* to *London*, August the 2d, 1506. This Prelate bestowed a great deal of Money in repairing and beautifying *St. Mary's Church* at *Oxford*, and also in adorning and beautifying the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul's, London*; and at his Death was buried between the two Pillars next the Steeple, on the North Side of the Body of the Church, under a Marble Stone, over which was built a kind of a Timber Chapel, which was consumed by Fire in the Year 1561.

Whilst these Matters were transacting Dr. *Smith*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, died; whereupon his Majesty immediately bestowed this Bishoprick on his Prime Minister, *Wolfsey*, who was no sooner named to succeed this Bishop, but he received the Compliments of the Prelates, Nobles, and Gentry, and every one at this Time seemed to vie with each other who should shew him the greatest Respect; on the 26th of *March* he was consecrated Bishop thereof with great Pomp and Ceremony.

The two Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* sent solemn Deputations to *London*, to compliment Bishop *Wolfsey* upon his Promotion, which he received with great Affection and Respect; and assured the Gentlemen who attended him, that he would use his best Endeavours to serve both Universities, and with other kind Expressions dismissed

fed them. Soon after this the Univerſity of *Cambridge* ſent Biſhop *Wolſey* an Invitation, (by Letter conveyed by proper Deputies) “ upon Account of
 “ his many and generous Qualities, which they elegantly celebrate, to chuſe him their Chancellor, and
 “ earneſtly requeſt him to accept that Office, tho’ inferior to his high Deſerts ; *” which *Wolſey* humbly declined, and acquaints them, “ That nothing could
 “ be more grateful or engaging to him, than ſuch a
 “ ſignal Teſtimony of their Favour, which he had
 “ neither ſought after, or done any thing to merit ;
 “ but he was ſo ſenſible of the great Honour deſigned to him, that he would make it his Endeavour to ſhew his Gratitude, by doing the Univerſity in General, and the ſeveral Members, of it
 “ the beſt Services in his Power ; excuſed himſelf
 “ for not writing in ſo copious a Manner as he propoſed, becauſe of the Multiplicity of publick Affairs wherewith he was taken up ; and therefore
 “ refers them to the Magiſtrates, deputed from the Univerſity, to wait on him for a more particular
 “ Answer.”†

His Maſteſty at this time was pleaſed by a ſpecial Grant, to give to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *John* Abbot of *St. Edmund’s-Bury*, or to either of them, and their Aſſigns, the firſt and then next Advowſon, Collation, Donation, or free Diſpoſal of the Abbey or Monastery of *St. Saviour’s Bermondſey*, in the

* This ſhews plainly, that the Univerſity of *Cambridge* had then, and we believe have at this time, a much higher Opinion of *Wolſey’s* Merit, than what Doctor *Knight*, one of their preſent Members, has, or would ſeem to have, by his raking together ſuch a Heap of Obliquy and Reproach againſt him in his *Life of Erasmus*. See our Firſt Vol. P. 339, &c.

† Does any thing herein appear of that Pride, Arrogance, and Covetouſneſs his Enemies generally charge him with ? Here, on the contrary, is Courteſy, Modeſty, and Generoſity ; and on the whole, it plainly appears, Biſhop *Wolſey* was ſo far from engroſſing all Places, that he reſuſed one that Perſons of the greateſt Fortune and Diſtinction have thought highly worth their Acceptance.

the County of *Surry*, when the same should become vacant for once only.

The high Favour that *Wolsey* was now in with the King gave much Pleasure to Bishop *Fox*, who expressed it by sending him particular Complements on his new Promotions; on the other hand, *Wolsey* took all Opportunities of shewing his *Gratitude* to so great a Patron, and continued still to advise with him upon all Affairs of Importance: So that their Friendship, instead of diminishing, as *Monf. Rapin* and *Dr. Knight* would have it, every day encreased.

“ When any See was vacant, (says Bishop *Burnet*) “ the King recommended “ one to the Pope, upon which the “ Bulls were expedited at *Rome*, and “ by a Warrant was consecrated and invested in the “ Spiritualities of the See.”

To this *Harmer* answers, “ The Historian here “ undertaketh to describe the Way and Process to “ make Bishops in *England*, received for above three “ hundred Years before the *Reformation*; but, in his “ Description of it, he hath committed several Mistakes: For, *First*, this Method was not much used in “ *England*, until within less than 300 Years before “ the *Reformation*. *Secondly*, It was even then not “ always used, for sometimes, even within that Term, “ Bishops were elected, confirmed, and consecrated, “ without consulting the Pope in the least, or expecting any Bulls from him. *Thirdly*, Even after “ the Method of Expediting Papal Bulls, and proceeding in vertue of them was fully settled, the King “ did not always recommend, nor did the Pope always grant his Bulls to the Person recommended; “ but sometimes the Pope staid not for his Recommendation, but granted his Bulls to whom he “ thought fit; or, after he had received the King’s “ Letters, granted his Bulls to some other whom “ himself liked better, or whom the Archbishop, or “ some

“ some powerful Nobleman, had recommended. Indeed, for about 60 Years before the *Reformation*, our Kings had got the better of the Popes in this Matter, and drawn the Disposition of Bishopricks to themselves, yet not altogether, (for the Popes, by their Authority, disposed of *Worcester*, at least three times together within that Term.) And after all, *Fourthly*, the Bishops were not first consecrated, and then invested with the Spiritualities of the See; but the Practice was all along contrary; for they received the Spiritualities of their See immediately upon Confirmation, and the Sentence of their Confirmation was ever accompanied with a Decree for their being put in Possession of their Spiritualities, and a Mandate directed to the Guardian of the Spiritualities, to deliver it up to them.”

Mr. *Fulman* hath also questioned the Date of the Restitution of the Temporalities of *Lincoln*, assigned by Bishop *Burnet* to be the 4th of *March*, 5 *Hen. VIII.* because *Wolsey* was not consecrated till the 26th of *March*. To this it was answered, “ That it might be to give him a Right to the mesne Profits, by restoring the Temporalities before *Lady-day*, though he was not consecrated till the 26th of *March*,” but *Anthony Harmer*, who has examined both *Fulman*, and the Bishop’s Relation of this Matter, avers, “ He knows not whether the Answer subjoined belongs to Mr. *Fulman* or Bishop *Burnet*; but it proves, That neither of them knew the true State of this Matter; for, whereas the Restitution of the Temporalities of *Lincoln* to *Wolsey*, before his Consecration, is here represented, if true, to be an extraordinary Case, owing to his great Favour and Power at Court; the Truth is, that at that Time, and for several Ages before, Bishops received their Temporalities from the King immediately after their Confirmations, and

“ even before Consecration; and at their Confirmation did of course take out a Writ from the Archbishop to the King, signifying their Confirmation; and in Virtue of it desiring Restitution of their Temporalities to be granted to them. *Wolsey* therefore, being promoted to the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* by the Pope, on the 6th of *February*, no wonder, as soon as his Bulls came into *England*, and had been allowed by the Archbishop, he should immediately receive his Temporalities before Consecration.” Our great Historian, *Burnet*, confesses, That he is ignorant when Bishops first received their Temporalities from the King, and renounced the Benefit of the Papal Bulls in relation to them, or any thing to be devised from the See of *Rome*, and leaves it to the most Learned in the Law to discover that Matter.” To this *Harmer* replies, That he does not pretend to be learned in the Law, yet he saith, the small Knowledge he hath, in the Antiquities of this Country, enables him to discover this, if it is to be called a Discovery, that this Custom begun in the Year 1272, when a like Renunciation was required of *Robert Kilwardby*, collated by the Pope to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*; and shortly after, the Papal Bulls of Provision increasing, the Matter was fully settled about the Year 1300.”

*Doctor Smith's
Rise and Character.*

Dr. *William Smith*, late Bishop of *Lincoln*, was brought up at *Cambridge*, and chosen Fellow of *Pembroke-hall* in that University; first consecrated Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* in the Year 1492. Whilst he was Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, he founded an Hospital for a Master, two Priests, and ten poor Men; also a Free-school for the Education of poor Children, and prevailed on *Henry* the VIIth to present to this School an Hospital, called *Donhall*, with the Lands belonging to it. He settled ten Pounds a Year in

Land

Land towards the Maintenance of a School-master, where he was born. He was a Man of great Eminence; and, after he had ornamented the See of *Litchfield* and *Coven-try* four Years, was translated to *Lincoln* in the Year 1495. Five Years he was Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, and founded the noble College of *Brazen-nose*, but lived not to finish it in the Manner he intended. He was the first *President of Wales*, and governed that Country with great Reputation, from the 17th of *Henry* the VIIth to the Time of his Death; and, having a great Affection for Bishop *Wolsey*, who succeeded him, he bequeathed to him several valuable Household Goods and Effects. He lies buried in the Body of the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, leaving behind him the Character of a good Bishop, a most sincere Friend, and generous Benefactor.

Erasmus had been some time in *Eng-land*, and was at *Cambridge* when *Wolsey* was made Bishop of *Lincoln*; where-
Further Account
of Erasmus.
upon he repaired to *London* to pay his Respects to him, and was extremely well received by the Bishop, who then gave *Erasmus* hopes of the first vacant Canonry in *Tournay*, and, as an Encouragement for him to continue his Studies, assigned him a Pension. After this gracious Reception *Erasmus* returned to *Cambridge*, where, it seems, he was *Greek* Professor, and had a Salary allotted him by the University, and had further Allowances from Archbishop *Warham*, Bishop *Fisher*, and Lord *Montjoy*, a very great Friend of Bishop *Wolsey*'s.

This famous Scholar spent his Time in composing several learned Pieces, and, having prepared them for the Press, set out for *London* about the latter End of *June*, when he was introduced to the King, who received him with high Tokens of Favour. *Erasmus*, designing shortly to go abroad, and having obtained Permission to that End, visited and took

leave of his Friends, particularly Bishop *Wolsey* and Sir *Thomas More*.

Erasmus's Reason for leaving *England* at this time was, to attend the Press at *Basil*, where he chose to have his Book published, under the Care of *Frobin*, the famous Printer. In his Passage he stopped at *Hamme* near *Calais*; from whence he writ to his Friend *Servetius*, and tells him, "That he had not left *England* for want of Encouragement; for the King and Bishop *Wolsey* had done him great Favours, but because he was obliged to attend the Press."

On the 8th of *July* he wrote another Letter to his Friend *Ammonius*, then in *London*; wherein he says, "He had the Misfortune of falling into the Hands of Custom-house Officers, whom he could hardly forbear calling out of their Names, for their barbarous Usage towards him:" (For, it seems, these Officers, upon searching *Erasmus*, took away his Papers, and carried them to another Ship, which put him into a very great Fright, fearing he should thereby lose the Labour of so many Years; but he was soon made easy by having them restored him.) And concludes, with mentioning "how kindly he was dismissed by the King, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, what Presents were made him in Money by the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *Durham*, and *Rochester*; that he was going for *Germany*, and, if Fortune favoured and People kept their Word, he should have an Eye again towards *England*."

Some little Time after *Erasmus* arrived safe at *Basil*, where he continued about eight Months, and then returned to *London*, and from thence proceeded to *Cambridge*, (after he had paid his Duty to his Majesty and visited Bishop *Wolsey*, Sir *Thomas More*, and his other Friends) where we shall for the present leave him.

On *Lewis's* Obedience, and Reconciliation to the Church, the Council of *Pisa* came to nothing. *Guicciardin*

Foreign Affairs.

1514.

cardinal says, " Those who were for pulling down
" the Greatness of the *French King*, begun now to
" fear his Power would be too much weakened.

The Pope continued in his Opinion, that the Dut-
chy of *Milan* should not be in the Hands of the
French, and still endeavoured that *Lewis* might not
reconcile himself to the Emperor, (who was always as
changeable as the Catholick King) and contract his
Daughter with a Grandson of one of those Princes,
and give her *Milan* in Dowry. This his Holiness
endeavoured to thwart by reconciling the *Switzers* to
France, and used the following Arguments with
Lewis, " That, admitting it was against the Grain,
" to resign a Right, the Disgrace was much the less,
" since it had been promised without his Privity,
" or Consent, and might therefore be urged, it
" was not his Agreement, but his General's; that the
" World well knew the desperate Condition *France*
" was just delivered from, occasioned by that Agree-
" ment." On the other hand the Pope exhorted
the *Switzers* to be satisfied with a less Sum than
what had been promised by *la Trimoville*: And, in
short, he prevailed on the King of *France* to offer a
Truce with the *Switzers* for three Years, and to
make them farther Satisfaction, without deviating
from his Pretentions to *Milan*. With this many
of the principal *Switzers* would have been satisfied,
but the People refused to abate any thing of the Ca-
pitulation of *Dijon*; and their Wrath rise to such a
Pitch against *France*, that they threatened shortly to
make a second Incurſion into her Dominions to re-
venge the Breach of that Treaty. And, notwith-
standing all the Pope's Entreaties, they still remained
mortal Enemies to the *French*.

Whilst the *French* and the *Switzers* were in Treaty,
it gave *Ferdinand* no small Uneasiness, being afraid
they would desert him, and ordered *Quintana*, his Mi-
nister at *Paris*, to renew again for a Year the Truce

with *France*, upon the same Foot with the former; only, by a secret Article, *Lewis* promised not to invade the *Milanese* this Year. In the Publication of the Truce in *France* no mention was made of *Milan*, but *Ferdinand* published it in *Spain* with that Article; so that their neighbouring Princes were at a Loss to know which was right. *Lewis* made no scruple to prolong the Truce, because he could not undertake to invade *Milan* and *Navarre* before he had made a Peace with *England*; besides, he was very glad the World should think the Truce would be followed by a Peace.

This seeming a natural Consequence, it the rather inclined our King *Henry* seriously to think of a Peace. But the Pope still plotted to break all *Lewis's* Measures respecting *Milan*, and laboured to the utmost of his Power to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, thinking thereby the *French* would be debarred from returning into *Italy*, and its Tranquillity restored, all agreeing, that whenever the *French* were in Possession of the *Milanese*, *Italy* had never been free from Troubles; but the Pope had further Views; the aggrandizing his Family seemed nearer his Heart, than the Peace of his Country, which was impracticable whilst the *French* retained their Possessions.

We left the *Venetians* last Year in a very unhappy Situation, and as they were then hard pressed by the Emperor, (through the Assistance of the *Spanish* Army) it induced the Republick to propose to make the Pope Umpire between them, which the Emperor accepted of: But it was very difficult to settle the Difference between these two Powers, because, tho' the War was carried into the very State of *Venice*, the *Venetians* had now somewhat recovered themselves from the Dilemma they were reduced to, so that the least Success on either side set them on demanding new Terms; therefore his Holiness passed a Provisional

Affairs of Venice, &c.
1514.

sional Sentence, ordering, that both Parties should lay down their Arms; that the Emperor should deposit in his Hands *Vicenza*, and whatever was possessed by the *Spaniards* in the Territories of *Padua* and *Treviso*; that the *Venetians* should do the like with regard to *Crema*, and pay down to the Emperor 50,000 Ducats: And that it should be deemed void, if the two Parties should not think proper to ratify it; but, in case they approved of it, he promised to pronounce a definitive Sentence within a Year. The *Venetians* did not think proper to ratify the Provisional Sentence, being persuaded, that, in their present Circumstances, a Truce was much more prejudicial, than the Continuation of the War; and, they remaining stedfast in that Belief, there was no Prospect of having *Italy* restored to its former flourishing State.

For as to *Maximilian* he found his Account in this War with the *Venetians*, for his Allies were necessarily obliged to find him Men or Money, otherwise they were sure he would quickly change Sides, and, when *France* left him, *Spain* was constrained to fight for him, notwithstanding all *Ferdinand's* Policy.

This being the Case, the Pope saw no Way of bringing these two Powers to agree; and therefore gave over any further Negotiation as to that Matter, and left them to fight it out.

In the mean time, as *Ferdinand* was become Master of *Navarre*, it was his Interest to embroil Affairs in the different Courts of *Europe*, and to cherish in *Italy* the Hopes and Fears of the several contending Parties to make himself necessary, and thereby to secure to himself the Conquests he had lately made. One while he assisted the Emperor against the *Venetians*; another while he solicited him in their Favour; sometimes he excited the Pope and *Switzers* not to suffer the King of *France* to become Master of *Milan*, and sometimes he offered to assist the same Prince to conquer that Dutchy. However, his Policy-

lity began to fail him; he had so forfeited his Reputation with respect to *Sincerity*, that he was no longer trusted; it was merely from a Desire to breed Suspicion in their Enemies, that the rest of the Sovereigns in *Europe* now entered into any Treaties with him, being fully convinced, that he was not to be relied on. It is true, *Lewis* the XIIth ardently longed to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, but he fully saw he should not be able to succeed, unless the Allies were divided; which, he conceived was not impracticable, on offering to some of them Advantages as great as they could naturally expect from their Union; especially as he knew, that each of them was ready enough to sacrifice his Allies to his own private Interest.

This Scheme *Lewis* begun by setting on foot a Negotiation with *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, concerning the Marriage of the Princess *Renée*, his second Daughter, with *Charles* of *Austria*, upon the Terms proposed by themselves; but still started Difficulties capable of continuing the Negotiation. So that upon the whole, through the different Views and Designs of the Princes interested in *Italy*, the Affairs of that Country were during this Year in a very uncertain Situation; and so we shall leave them.

Death and Character of the Queen of France.

The beginning of this Year *Ann* of *Brittany*, Queen to *Lewis* the XIIth, departed this Life, having lived to see the King, her Husband, reconciled to the Pope, which she had much at Heart. The Character *Guicciardin* gives of her is, "That she was a very virtuous and religious Queen:" And, says Father *Daniel*, "her Death was much lamented by the King, whom he always loved and honoured, being a Princess of great Merit."

Brantome relates, "That *Lewis* had that Consideration for *Ann* of *Brittany*, his Wife, that, being one Day told how the Clerks of the *Basfortie du*
" *Palais*

"*Palais* and the Scholars had acted Plays, into which they brought the King and his Court, and all the *Grandeess*, he made no more of it, than to say, that they must have their Pastime, and that he allowed them to speak of him and his Court, but however not disrespectfully; and above all, that they should not speak of the Queen, his Wife, in any manner whatever, otherwise he would have them all hanged." Thus you see, what Honour the King paid her.

To conclude our Account of Queen *Ann* of *France*, in the Words of *Hillar de Coste*, one of her Panegyrist; "I am not ignorant that some have written, that this good King, (meaning *Lewis* the XIIth) finding his Princess was very fond of ruling, let her quietly govern her Dutchy of *Brittany*, and understanding that she was carrying on some Intrigues against his Inclination and Service, he would not however resent it, saying to those that pressed him to it, Some Allowance is to be made to a chaste Woman." But however afflictive the Loss of this Queen might at first be to *Lewis* the XIIth, it was soon removed, by his marrying a young and beautiful Princess.

Henry the VIIIth was now resolved to take the first Opportunity to agree with *France*, the Duke of *Longueville* being taken Prisoner at the *Battle of Spurs*, to repair this Loss he undertook, during his Imprisonment, to bring off *Henry* from his Confederacy with the Emperor; nor did he find any great Trouble to persuade him to it; for he was weary of paying the Emperor's Troops, and of furnishing him with 100 Crowns a Day for his Table, therefore he only wanted a plausible Pretence to get off, which he was not long without: For,

Further Affairs of England.

1514

Henry had a most beautiful Sister, who was, in her Father's Life-time, solemnly affianced to *Charles*

of *Austria*, and the Contract was confirmed but the last Year, and a time fixed for the Solemnization of the Marriage; yet this Contract was soon after neglected, and so little thought of in *England*, that some of the young *English* Lords of the highest Quality even pretended to court the Princess, and the King gave way to it, though he had no design to marry her to any of his Subjects: Nevertheless, as there is no Flail against the Powers of Love, it is a difficult thing for any one to hold out a long time against them, when she makes it her Business to allure. The Princess of *England*, after she had intangled in those Snares all such who could give any cause of Jealousy to the King, herself, who had charmed so many, was at last smitten with one whom her Brother had little Reason to fear.

Charles Brandon, Duke of *Suffolk*, was extremely handsome, well proportioned in his Person, and very active in all manner of Exercises; he had an Air equal to his Degree, accompanied with Sweetness of Temper and Discretion; so that he was welcome into all Societies, and particularly those of the Ladies. The King took him for his second in his Matches at Tennis, and made him the Confident of his most secret Pleasures; conferred on him the Office of Master of the Horse; the Title he caused him to assume (of Duke of *Suffolk*) was illustrious for the Merit and Quality of the Persons who had borne it for above 200 Years. It was believed, that this new Title satisfied the Princess, that she might bestow her Affection on him; for our Histories are full of Precedents of the Earls of *Suffolk* marrying the Sisters and Daughters of our Kings. In short, the Princess was so far in love with him, that she could not conceal it from being publickly taken notice of. The Duke on his Part made suitable returns, and it became quite familiar to the Courtiers; and the King too only laughed at the Business, and made him-
self

self merry with the two Lovers ; not that he approved of it in the main, or had so high a Value for *Suffolk* as to make him his Brother-in-law ; (though he had a greater Kindness for him than for the rest of his Courtiers, save *Wolsey*) but was in hopes to draw some Advantage from the Inequality of this Amour, which he thought would exasperate the *English* Lords against her, and cause them to desist from looking any more after her : Besides, he fancied himself so much Master of his Sister and *Suffolk*, that nothing could be acted between them without his Consent.

However, all this did not discourage the Duke of *Longueville*, from proposing to the King a Match between the Princess and his Master, and this he first did as from himself, and his Majesty listened to the Duke with such Marks of Respect as sufficiently discovered his approving of the Proposal ; which was as lucky a Hit as Fortune ever could have afforded him.

But yet the King, when the Duke spoke to him of this Match, answered, “ That it was time enough to treat about it when he was impowered to demand the Princess in Form.”

The Duke of *Longueville*, giving a shrewd Guess at the King's Thoughts, dispatched a Gentleman into *France*, under Pretence of sending for his Ransom ; but it was to assure *Lewis*, “ it would be his own Fault if he did not make a Peace with *England* upon reasonable Conditions, and marry the King's Sister, one of the most lovely Women in *Europe*.”

Lewis, who was amorous in his Inclination, willingly entertained the Proposal ; and the Portraiture of the Princess, that was sent to him, was too powerful a Charm to let his Affection for the female Sex lie dormant, flattering himself with the hopes of having a Son ; which induced him to order the

Duke of *Longueville*, to demand the Princess *Mary* in Marriage for him.

The Duke no sooner received Instructions on that Head, than he applied to his Majesty, who referred him to treat with Bishop *Wolsey* upon the Subject of his Commission, and soon after he was privately introduced to the King, where he was so well received, that *Wolsey* was directed to prepare a Draught of the Articles between the two Kings. Whilst they were drawing up, the King and the Duke had another private Conference, wherein his Majesty freely delivered himself, on what Terms both the Peace and the Marriage should be concluded with his Master, and the Letter, which the King wrote thereon to Bishop *Wolsey*, will best explain what passed between them: *

The King's Letter to Wolsey.

“ My Lord *Lynkecolne*, I recomende me unto yow.

“ And lette yow wyte, that I have spokyné with the Duke, whyche in the begynnyng was as yll affrayde as ever he was in his Lyffe, lest no good Effecte shulde comme to pas.

“ Nevertheles in farther communynge we wente more rondly to oure Matters, insomuche that I sayde to him, sieinge that the Kyng your Master hathe sought so gently unto us, for bothe Amyte and Maryage, I assure yow (oure Honour savyd) we colde be well content to gyffe herkyne therto, and, yff the Offers were resonable, agre upon thos same; but this be not resonable, excepte the Amyte shulde no longer contynw then the Payment off Money, and yett natt so, excepte ther wer a resonable Summe off Money to be payd in Hand by and by.

“ Iff hys Master wyll have the Maryage I can natt se how itt can be conveniently, excepte the Amyte be made duryng oure Lyffes, and on yer after,

“ to

“ to the Intente that all Supycyon off bothe Sydes
“ may be sett apart.

“ Whyche Maryage and Amyte your Master may
“ have under thys maner, that is to say, paynge yerly
“ on Hundred-thousand Crownes, and at hys Re-
“ quest I natt to styke for no redy Mony in hande,
“ but I to stande contente therwith for Recompense
“ off all Thynges.

“ Whyche yff your Master confidere what Hery-
“ taunce he holdyth from me, and what good my
“ Amyte may do, to helpe forth hys Mater in *I-*
“ *taly*, I thinke he wyll natt grettly styke at.

“ This forther more I sayde to the Duke, furly
“ I can natt see how the Amyte made for yers can
“ any longer indure than the Payment, whyche exspy-
“ ryde shulde be occasion off new Breche and De-
“ mans, wherby nodor he nor we shulde lyffe qui-
“ ettly, whyche yff ther full Alyance I wholde be
“ lothe to see; wherfor I see no way to eschwe all
“ Dangers and Parraylles, and to recompence me
“ for withholding off myne Inheritance, (whyche yff I
“ whold be flake in my Subjects whold murmure att)
“ but to make thys Amyte during oure Lyffys, and
“ on Yere affter, paynge yerly as above reherfed,
“ whyche Amyte wons grantyd, the Alyance shulde
“ natt be refusyde, nor no nother Thyng, whyche
“ with my Honour savyd, I myght do.

“ Saying forther more to hyme, that yff I
“ myght demande wyth my Honour any lesse, or
“ take any lesse Offere (seying his Master is so
“ well mynded to the forsay'd Aliance and Amyte)
“ I wholde be glade to do that at hys Request, but
“ lesse than thys hit cannatt stonde with my Ho-
“ nour, nor my Subjectes wyll not be contente that
“ I shulde take.

“ My Lord, I shuyd hym forthermore, that, yff he
“ thoght we myght trust to have thys Ende, I
“ wholde be contente that yow and he shulde com-

228 *The* LIFE and TIMES

“ mune on all other Artycylles, concernyng the A-
 “ myte and Maryage, tyll we myght have absolute
 “ Assurance in that Behalfe for lyfying off Time.

“ To whyche he answarde, *That he colde natt assure*
 “ *me thereof, but that he trustyde, seyng my Demans*
 “ *wer so resonable, that bys Master wholde agre*
 “ *therto.*

“ On trust hereon we wool, that yow begyne to
 “ Penne the refydwe off the Artycylles as soone as you
 “ can. And thus fare yow well.

“ Wryttyn with the Hande of yowr lovyng Ma-
 “ ster,

“ HENRY R.

“ Dor.

“ *To my Lorde Lincolne.*”

The Bishop of *Lincoln*, in Obedience to the King's Order, finished the Articles, which were afterwards approved of by both Parties.

The Princess readily submitted to what the King was transacting on her Behalf, and endeavoured to smother her *first Love*; so that the Zeal and Readiness, which Bishop *Wolfey* shewed on this Occasion, for the Benefit of the Nation, as it was then apprehended, was so acceptable to this amiable Princess, that she many Times expressed how highly she was satisfied with his Conduct.

The French King *Lewis*, being informed of the Steps
sends Ambassadors taken by the Duke of *Longueville*, to
to England. accomplish both the Amity and Mar-
 riage, was so pleased therewith that he sent over, to assist the Duke in this Negotiation, *Loys D' Orleance*,
John de Selve, first President of *Roane*, and *Thomas Bq-
 bier*, Chevalier General of *France*: And *Henry* nomi-
 nated *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard Fox*, Bishop
 of *Winchester*, and his Prime Minister, *Wolfey*, his
 Commissioners, to treat with the *French Ambassadors*,
 on the different Matters then on the Tapis

The *French* Ministers were first introduced to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, where the Plan, for an Accommodation between the two Crowns, was laid before them and discussed; an Account whereof was immediately transmitted to the *French* King, who soon approved of them; and, finding the Favour *Wolsey* was in with his Master, he generally dispatched such farther Instructions, the *French* Ministers were deficient in to the Premier himself; which appears from the following Letter, that two of those Ministers wrote to Bishop *Wolsey*; and runs in *English* as follows:

My Lord,

“ We received a Packet, from the King our Master, between *Sittingborn* and this Place, (*Canterbury*) which you did us the Honour to send us. We sent to the President that which was directed for him, who will inform you of the Good-will the King our Master bears to the King, his good Brother, and also to yourself. You will often hear from him, as from one in whom he places the greatest Confidence. On that Account we recommend ourselves to your Favour. We pray God, my Lord, for your Health and long Life.

“ *Your good and perfect Friend,*

“ LOYS D'ORLEANCE.

“ *Your most humble Servant,*

“ THOMAS BOHIER.

“ To my Lord of *Lincoln*.”

In short, the Conference, between the Ministers of both Crowns, was immediately opened, and nothing was to be seen but Serenity of Countenance on each Part; so that, till proper Articles could be signed between the two Kings, the respective Ministers agreed, in their Master's Names, upon a Cessation of Arms; and soon after the following Treaties were concluded between *England* and *France*.

I. *Treaty of Peace and Amity between Lewis the XIIth and Henry the VIIIth concluded at London, August the 7th, 1514.*

AA. Pub. XIII. " That the Amity between the two
p. 413. " Kings should last till a Year after
" the Death of the shortest Liver. — That the Suc-
" cessor of him that died first should give notice
" within the Year to the other, whether he would
" prolong this or make a new Treaty. — That all
" Impositions laid within 52 Years past, by one
" King on the Subjects of the other, should be abo-
" lished. — That the Peace should not be deemed
" violated by Outrages committed on either Side. —
" That neither of the two Kings should afford Pro-
" tection or Refuge to the Rebels of the other. —
" That *Scotland* should be included in the Treaty,
" on Condition that the *Scots* should commit no
" Hostilities against *England*, after the 25th of *No-*
" *vember*. — That the Treaty should be ratified and
" sworn to by the two Kings, and confirmed by
" the Parliament of *England*, and the States-General
" of *France*. — That each of the two Kings should
" endeavour to obtain of the Pope, a Sentence of
" Excommunication against the Infraction of the
" Peace."

H. *Treaty concerning the Marriage of Lewis the XIIth with the Princess Mary.*

Ibid. p. 425. " That Matrimony should be con-
" tracted by Proxies, and *per Verba de presenti*, with-
" in ten Days after the Date of this Treaty. —
" That the King of *England* (within two Months
" after the Contract) should convey, at his own
" Charge, the Princess, his Sister to *Abbeville*, where,
" within four Days after her Arrival, the King of
" *France*, should solemnly marry her, — That *Mary*
" should

“ should have in Dower Four hundred thousand
 “ Crowns, Two hundred thousand whereof should be
 “ reckoned for Jewels, &c. and, in case of Reco-
 “ very, *Lewis* should be obliged to restore only the
 “ Jewels, &c. to the Value aforesaid. — That the
 “ other half *Henry* should pay, by deducting it out
 “ of the Million the King of *France* was bound to
 “ pay by a late Treaty. — That the future Queen’s
 “ Jointure should be as great as that assigned to
 “ *Anne* of *Brittany*, or any other Queen of *France*.
 “ — That, in case of *Lewis*’s Death, *Mary* should
 “ enjoy her Dower and Jointure during Life, whether
 “ she resided in *France* or *England*.

III. Treaty for the Payment of a Million of Crowns.

By this Treaty *Lewis* acknowledged,
 “ That, by the Treaty of *Estaples*, *Charles* Ibid. p. 438,
 “ the VIIIth was bound to pay *Henry* 439.
 “ the VIIth, or his Successors, the Sum of 745,000
 “ Crowns, and that himself was obliged to pay the
 “ Arrears of the same. — That *Charles*, Duke of
 “ *Orleans*, his Father, by an Obligation, dated *March*
 “ the 7th, 1414, had owned himself Debtor in a
 “ certain Sum to *Margaret* of *Somerset*, Grand-mo-
 “ ther of *Henry* the VIIIth. — That, these two Sums
 “ being not yet paid, *Lewis* bound himself to pay
 “ to the King of *England*, or his Successors, a Mil-
 “ lion of Crowns, as well for the Arrears of the said
 “ two Sums, as on account of the good Affection
 “ he bore him, and to the End their Amity might be
 “ the more lasting. — That this Million should be
 “ paid by Half-yearly Payments of Fifty thousand
 “ *Livres Tournois*, till the whole should be discharged.”

Monf. *Rapin* remarks upon these Trea- Rapin’s Re-
mark.
 ties as follows: “ Thus (says he) the War,
 “ which had been undertaken on Pretence of Re-

“ligion, and for the Glory of God, ended in a Treaty which mentions neither Religion, nor the Pope, nor the Church.”

To this we reply, That his Holiness himself, as *Rapin* confesses, after *Lewis* was reconciled to the Church, recommended the King to make a Peace with *France*; so that all the End proposed from the War as to that Matter was answered: But, if it had not, the King was justifiable in concluding these Treaties with *France*, (without consulting his Allies) even from what *Rapin* himself has related touching the Treatment he had before met with from them.

It may not be improper here to take notice, that, though the Princess *Mary* had been solemnly affianced to *Charles* of *Austria*, in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIth; yet *Lewis* the XIIth and *Henry* the VIIIth, made no difficulty of agreeing upon this Marriage; nay, they did not so much as demand the Pope's Dispensation, to absolve *Mary* from her first Contract.

The Ceremony used by the Princess, to shew she did not hold herself to be bound by this Contract, was no more than this, a few Days before the signing of the Marriage-treaty, *Mary* declared, in the Presence of a Notary-publick and other Witnesses, “That she had been forced to plight her Faith to *Charles*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, and that the said Arch-duke had promised to espouse her by Proxy, and *per Verba de presenti*, as soon as he was 14 Years of Age; yet he had broken his Word.” The Princess added further, “That she was credibly informed, that the Counsellors and Confidants of the Arch-duke was instilling into him, to the utmost of their Power, an Aversion for the King of *England*, her Brother; and therefore upon the whole declared, she was advised, that she was free from that Contract, and at liberty to marry any other Prince.”

After

After the Princess had made this publick Declaration, the two Kings agreed on the Solemnization of the Marriage, which shortly after was performed, the Treaties were ratified by both Kings, and the Peace between the two Nations was publickly proclaimed, which were very acceptable both to the People of *England* and *France*.

During these Transactions Cardinal Baynbridge, Archbishop of *York*, was poisoned at *Rome*, on the 14th of *July*; and the same Day Cardinal *Medicis* wrote to the King to the following Effect:

Cardinal Baynbridge poisoned.

“ *Most Serene, most Invincible, and most Venerable Sir,*

“ After the humble Recommendations of a good
 “ Memory to the last, the Cardinal of *York* paid
 “ the Debt which he owed to Nature; the Grief
 “ which I received on that Occasion I am not able
 “ to express by Words; for, besides that I regarded
 “ and loved him in no vulgar Manner, our Order
 “ has sustained a very great Loss in the want of so
 “ great a Father, and Master; but, since these
 “ Things are from God, who is pleased with nothing
 “ but what is right, we must submit to his Will,
 “ and intreat his Mercy, that he may be thought
 “ worthy among his Servants to receive the Crozier
 “ to Eternity. As I thought it a Part of my Duty,
 “ I immediately attended our most holy Father, and
 “ beseeched him that he would not dispose of his
 “ late Eminency’s Benefice, till he knew your Majesty’s
 “ Pleasure, which I easily obtained from his
 “ Holiness*, through his great and paternal Benevolence
 “ and Affection for your Majesty. For my
 “ own Part, I will in no sort depart from my Institution,
 VOL. II. H h

* From this it appears, that what Mr. *Harmer* asserts is true, that Popes in some Cases have disposed of vacant Bishopricks in *England*, without consulting the King.

“stitution, and my Duty towards your Majesty. As
 “to the Sicknefs and Death of the Cardinal, and of
 “my Endeavours and Study for your Majesty’s Ser-
 “vice, my Lord of *Wincheſter* can more fully certify.
 “I commend myſelf moſt humbly to your Royal
 “Majeſty, whom may God long preſerve ſecure
 “and moſt happy.

“From the Apoſtolick Palace at *Rome*, *July* the
 “14th, 1514.

“*Your Sacred Royal Majeſty’s moſt*
 “*humble and moſt faithful Servant,*

“*J. Cardinal de MEDICIS.*”

*His Education,
 Death, and
 Character.*

Dr. *Chriſtopher Baynbridge* was born at *Hilton*, near *Appleby*, in *Westmoreland*, and deſcended from an antient Family. He was educated at *Queen’s College* in *Oxford*, (to which he was a Benefactor, by giving the Manor of *Toot-baldon*, with other Eſtates and Lands) and commenced Doctor of both Laws. He was firſt made Maſter of the Rolls, then Dean of *York*, and afterwards obtained the Preferments we have already mentioned. His Death happened in this Manner: The Cardinal, as ſome ſaid, was of a very paſſionate Temper; and one *Rinaldo de Modena*, an *Italian* Prieſt, had diſobliged him to ſuch a Degree, that the Cardinal ſtruck him. The Prieſt, in Return for this Treatment, watched all Opportunities to be revenged on his Maſter, and this he ſhortly afterwards effected by poisoning him.

This horrid Fact made a great Noiſe; the King at firſt directed a particular Inquiry to be made into it. *Pace* was in the Cardinal’s Service at the Time of his Death, who tranſmitted to his Majeſty a full Account thereof in the following Letter.

“That the Prieſt, after he had poisoned the
 “Archbiſhop, his Maſter, killed himſelf; that the
 “Biſhop of *Worceſter* and one of his Chamberlains
 “were

“ were accused of being concerned in poisoning
 “ the Archbishop ; that Proceedings were commenced
 “ at Law, in order to make a full Inquiry into the
 “ Authors and Actors in so black a Tragedy, that
 “ they may be brought to condign Punishment ;
 “ that the Lawyers at *Rome* advised the taking up
 “ of the Bishop and his Chamberlain ; that, where
 “ there was so great a Suspicion, the Law allowed
 “ putting them to Torture, in order to discover the
 “ Truth, without regard to the Dignity of the Party
 “ accused : That he had proceeded thus far in making
 “ the Inquiry, as well in respect to his Majesty, as
 “ for his own Justification, for that it might have
 “ been thought, in case he had been silent, that he
 “ had been an Actor in this almost unheard of Cruel-
 “ ty : That, as the Bishop was the King’s Orator,
 “ he had not proceeded farther than to endeavour to
 “ find out the Truth, waiting his Highness’s Di-
 “ rections. *Pace* lamented the Reproaches thrown on
 “ his dead Master, by the Bishop ; for, says he, no-
 “ thing but the Love and Fidelity, which I bear to
 “ your Highness and my Country, induced me to
 “ act as I have done ; and, though my Lord (says
 “ *Pace*) had some Failings, yet he took God to witness,
 “ that the Archbishop was the most faithful Man
 “ to his Prince that ever was born, and ever watch-
 “ ful for the Good of his Majesty and his native
 “ Country, notwithstanding the Insinuations that had
 “ been made to the contrary.”

This Letter was generally well received, and *Pace* was afterwards employed in several Affairs during *Wolsey’s* Favour with the King : It also appears, that the Bishop of *Worcester* was continued in the King’s Service ; so that without doubt the Accusation raised against the Bishop was ill founded, though it does not appear how he got rid of the Prosecution, that *Pace* mentions in his Letter to have been commenced against him.

Paulus Jovius says, "The Priest, who poisoned the Cardinal, was publicly executed; and that he confessed the Fact at that Time." But *Giaconius*, in his *Lives of the Cardinals*, relates, "That the Murderer was put into Prison, and, to avoid a more shameful Death, he took a Dose of Poison himself; and that his Body was afterwards cut in two, and placed upon the Gates of Rome."

The Cardinal was buried in the Hospital of *St. Thomas the Martyr*, in *Rome*, in the 2d Year of Pope *Leo the Xth*, with this Epitaph: Which shews the great Esteem he was in at the Court of *Rome*.

CHRISTOPHERO ARCHIEPIESCO EBORACENSI.
S. PRAXEDIS PRESBYTERO CARDINALI ANGLIÆ
A JULIO II.

PONTIFICE MAXIMO OB EGREGIAM OPERAM
S. R. ECCLESIAE PRÆSTITAM DUM SUI REGNI
LEGATUS ESSET,
ASSUMPTO QUAM MOX DOMI, ET FORIS CASTRIS
PONTIFICIIS PRÆFECTUS TUTATUS EST,
Obiit Pridie Idus Julii, M.D.XIV.

The same in *English*.

"Christopher, *Archbishop of York*, and Cardinal Priest, with the Title of *St. Praxedis*, who for, his eminent Services to the Holy See of *Rome*, when *Le-*
"gate in *England*, was called home by *Julius the II*d,
"and made Governor of the Papal Castles and For-
"tresses, which he defended.

"He died the 14th Day of July, 1514."*

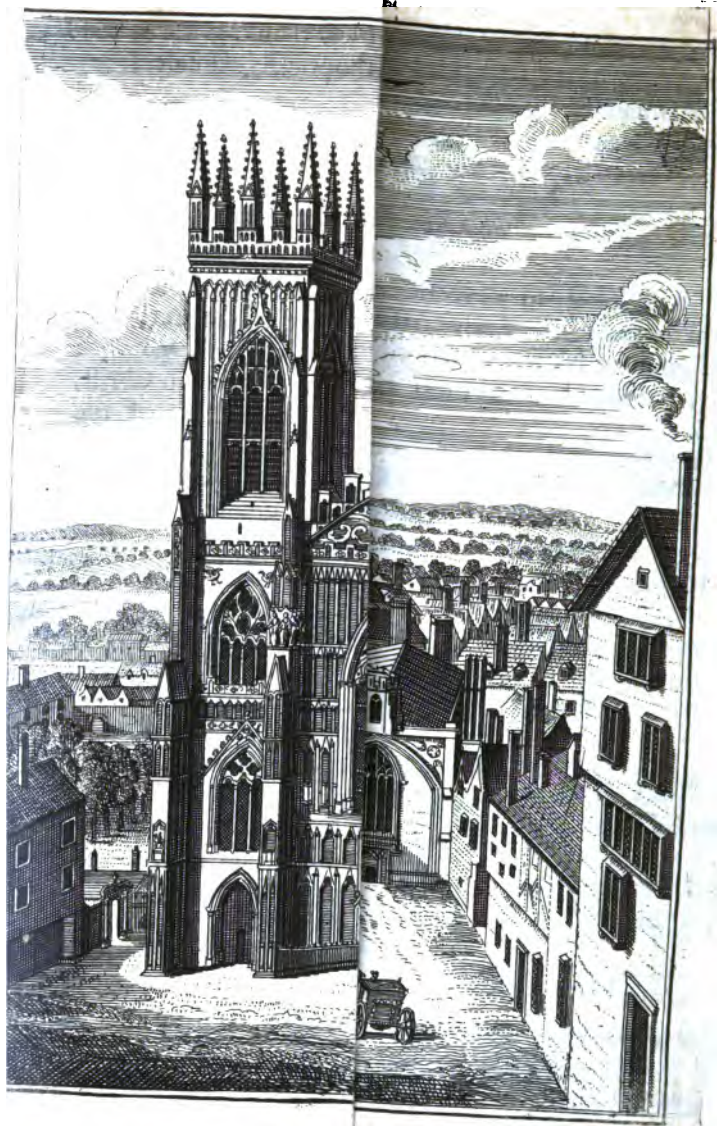
*Wolsey made
Archbishop of
York.*

As soon as the King received an Account of Cardinal *Baynbridge's* Death, he demanded the Archbishoprick of *York* for *Thomas Wolsey*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, which was immediately

* If we are not misinformed, *Charles Baynbridge*, of *London*, Gentleman, is a Descen-

dant from the Family of this famous Cardinal, and assiduous, sincere Statesman.





ately granted, so that *Walsey*, in less than one Year, was preferred to three different Bishopricks, namely *Tourmay*, *Lincoln*, and *York*.

HIS MAJESTY'S GRANT

“ To Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, elected Arch-
“ bishop of York.

“ The King, to all those, &c. Greeting, Know Ye,
“ that whereas the Archiepiscopal See of the Cathedral
“ Church or Metropolitan of *York* has been vacated,
“ by the Death of the most Reverend Father in Christ,
“ *Christopher*, late Cardinal and Archbishop of the
“ said See, and remains so at present.

“ We, out of our special Grace, certain Knowledge
“ and Inclination, have given and granted, and by
“ these Presents do give and grant, to the venerable
“ Father in Christ, *Thomas*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, now
“ elected to that of *York*, Possession of the said
“ Archiepiscopal See, together with all the Tempo-
“ ralities thereof; as likewise of all the Castles, Lord-
“ ships, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents and
“ Vassalages; Portions, Pensions, Annuities, and
“ all other Possessions whatsoever, belonging or ap-
“ pertaining to the said Archiepiscopal See.

“ We also have granted, unto the aforesaid vena-
“ rable Father, all and every the military Contracts,
“ Vassalages, Wards, Guardianships, and the Pos-
“ session of all Hereditaments whatsoever, holding of,
“ and appertaining to the said Archbishoprick, to
“ which we are at present intitled; also all manner of
“ Duties, of all and singular that in any respect hold
“ of the said Archbishoprick, or that thereunto be-
“ long and appertain.

“ The said venerable Father, and his Assigns, to
“ have, hold, enjoy, and retain the said Possession,
“ together with all and every the Premises, from the
“ Time

“ Time of the forementioned Archbishop’s Death,
 “ and as long as the said See shall be vacant ; also all
 “ manner of Temporalities belonging to the said
 “ Archbishoprick, which we, or our Heirs should
 “ deliver and restore to the aforesaid venerable Father,
 “ without Fee or any other Burthen to us or our Heirs,
 “ on that Account, to be given, paid, or made ; and
 “ this so fully and amply, as if we possessed all and
 “ singular the Premises, or ought to have, if this
 “ our present Concession thereof had not been made.

“ We have also granted to the said venerable
 “ Father, all manner of Advowsons, Gifts, Presen-
 “ tations, Nominations, and Collations, and to insti-
 “ tute Incumbents in Churches, Abbies, Archdea-
 “ conries, Dignities, Priories, Colleges, Hospitals,
 “ and all other Ecclesiastical Benefices whatsoever.
 “ As to the Advowsons or Patronages in the said
 “ Archbishoprick, which have fallen in this Vacation,
 “ they are also to be held, conferred, given, pre-
 “ sented, and instituted at the Will and Pleasure of
 “ the said venerable Father, without any Impeach-
 “ ment from us, or by any other Person in our Name
 “ and Stead.

“ And moreover, we have granted to the aforesaid
 “ venerable Father full Power and Authority to name,
 “ make, and constitute all and singular the Senescals,
 “ Bailiffs, Ministers, and other Officers whatsoever
 “ in the said Archbishoprick, and of all the Temp-
 “ ralities thereof, in the same Manner as if those Offi-
 “ cers were appointed by us, when the Temporalities
 “ of the said Archbishoprick remained in our Hands.

“ And further, out of our more bountiful Grace,
 “ we have given and granted, and by these Presents
 “ do give and grant, unto the aforesaid venerable Fa-
 “ ther, all and singular the Issues, Rents, Revenues,
 “ and Profits of all and every the Temporalities, and o-
 “ ther the Premises whatsoever, and every Parcel there-
 “ of, from the Time of the late Archbishop’s Death

“ hither-

“ hitherto, and from hence forward during the said
 “ Vacation, to have and receive, as well by his own
 “ Hands and those of his Ministers, as by the Hands
 “ of the late and present Collectors, Sheriffs, Senescals,
 “ Bailiffs, Receivers, or other Occupiers of the afore-
 “ said Temporalities, and of all and singular the
 “ Premises, or any Parcel thereof, for the Use of the
 “ said venerable Father, without Fine, or any other
 “ Account to be made or given, and without Let,
 “ Stay, Trouble, or Molestation, or Grievance from us
 “ or our Heirs, or any Officers whatsoever belonging
 “ to us; and this without any Fee to be paid in the
 “ *Hanaper-Office* of our Chancery.

“ Forasmuch as expresse Mention, &c.

“ In Testimony whereof, &c.

“ Witness the King at *Westminster*, August the 5th.

“ By the King in Person.”

And his Holiness was resolved not to be behind-
 hand with his Majesty, in granting Bishop *Wolsey* at this
 time a Favour, which he manifested by sending him
 the following Bull.

To T. Wolsey, the *Absolution Bull*. R. Barotius. •

“ Leo, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, To
 “ the venerable Brother, Thomas, Bishop of Lin-
 “ coln, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

“ The accustomed Clemency of the Apostolical
 “ See, lest the Dispositions made by her, relating to
 “ Metropolitan Churches, should in any respect be
 “ impugned; but that the Persons translated to them
 “ may, with a pure Heart and sincere Conscience,
 “ preside over them, She administers, as is proper,
 “ seasonable Remedies.

“ Wherefore as this Day, with the Advice of our
 “ Brethren, and the Fullness of Apostolical Power,
 “ we have resolved to absolve you from the Ties
 “ which you acknowledge to bind you to preside over
 “ the Church of *Lincoln*, and to transfer you to that

“ of

“ of *York*, at present in some manner destitute of
 “ Pastoral Comforts, of which Church we appoint
 “ you Archbishop and Pastor.

“ We, left the Translation and Government, if
 “ by chance you should labour under any Ecclesi-
 “ astical Sentences, Censures, and Pains, that they
 “ may be invalid, and our Willingness to move those
 “ Obstacles known, in order that the aforesaid Trans-
 “ lation and Government, and all the Letters granted
 “ on that Account, may have their Effects, by Apo-
 “ stolical Authority in the Tenour of these Presents,
 “ we absolve you, and declare you absolved from all
 “ manner of Excommunications, Suspensions, Inter-
 “ dictions, and other Ecclesiastical Sentences, Censures,
 “ and Pains, pronounced, *a Jure vel ab Homine*, on what
 “ Occasion or Cause soever, if under any you should be.

“ Notwithstanding the Apostolical Constitutions,
 “ and those of *Ottomus* and *Othen*, formerly Legates
 “ from the said See in the Kingdom of *England*, or
 “ the Constitutions, Ordinances, and Statutes, or o-
 “ ther Customs of the said Church of *York*, made in
 “ Provincial or Synodal Councils, confirmed by the
 “ Apostolical See, by Oath or otherwise whatsoever,
 “ to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ Be it lawful therefore for no Man whatsoever, to
 “ destroy this Instrument of our Absolution and De-
 “ claration, &c.

“ Given in *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, in the Year of the In-
 “ carnation of our Lord, 1514, on the 17th of the Ka-
 “ lends of *October*, and the second Year of our Pontificate.

“ *B. Cathenianus*

“ on the Folding

“ *Jo. de Madrigal.*

“ *Jo. Cheminere*

“ *Alvisius*

“ *C. Wyril*

“ *A. Normil.*

“ *Alvisius.*”

Under a Leaden Seal, hanging to red and yellow
 Strings done with Wax. Bishop

Bishop *Wolsey* was no sooner consecrated Archbishop of *York*, but he took Possession of *York-place**, now called *Whitehall*, the Palace in Town belonging to his See, which he found in a very ruinous Condition. This induced him to give Directions for repairing one Part, and pulling down and rebuilding the other; and his Orders were executed with so much Expedition, that in less than a Year it was put into a Condition fit to receive him and his Family: And soon after the Archbishop set on foot another Building at *Hampton-Court*, which was carried on in so elegant a Taste, that it drew Persons from all Parts to view it; of which Structure we shall speak hereafter. As to *York-place*, it had the Misfortune to be somewhat in the Condition that has of late Years attended *Carwood-Castle*, belonging to the Church of *York*, in respect to not having a Visit from its Owner for several Years; but for that Archbishop *Baynbridge* was not so much to blame, because he was beyond Sea, employed in the Service of his Country.

Archbishop Wolsey takes Possession of York-place.

When *Wolsey* was preferred to the See of *York*, *William Atwater* succeeded him in the See of *Lincoln*, on the 12th of *November*, who had been many Years Vice-chancellor, or rather as then the Term was, Commissary of the University of *Oxford*.

But, to return to *Lewis's* Marriage, it was first solemnized by Proxy in *England*, according to the Agreement in the Treaty; whereof an Account was sent by a special Messenger to the *French* King, and scarce a Day went over without Couriers passing and repassing to and from *France*, by one of which *Lewis* wrote the following Letter to the Archbishop.

VOL. II.

I i

“ The

* *Walter Grey*, Archbishop of *York*, in the Year 1216, purchased the House now called *Whitehall*, of the Friars Preachers in *Westminster*, (which *Hubert de Burg* built and gave them) and settled it upon his See; from this Time it was called *York-place*, and became the most usual Residence of the Archbishops of that Diocese, when in *London*. See the learned Mr. *Drake's* Antiquities of *York*, Folio 426.

242 *The LIFE and TIMES*

" *The French King's Letter to Thomas Wolsey.*

" *Eldest of York.*

" *My Lord of York,*

" What I have learned, by the Return of this Courier from your Side, determines me not to let him set out again without my Letters to you, by which I affectionately pray you to make my good and cordial Recommendations to the King and Queen, my good Brother and Sister; and also to the Queen my Wife. I likewise pray you to do what you can that my delightful Spouse, may set out from thence as soon as possibly it may be; for there is nothing in this World I so much desire as as to see her, and to be with her.

" In this you will do me Pleasure, and oblige me more and more, praying God, my Lord, &c. The 2d September.

" LOUIS.

" *Robertel.*

" To my Lord of York."

This Marriage was no sooner celebrated in *England*, but the Duke of *Longueville*, and the other Prisoners, detained here since the *Battle of the Spurs*, returned to *France*, expressing at parting their Gratitude, for the kind and humane Treatment they had met with from his Majesty.

Part of the Months of *August* and *September* were chiefly spent in the Preparations for the Princess's Journey, the Celebration of the Marriage in *France*, and the Ratification of the Treaties.

During this time many Letters passed between the two Kings, and between *Lewis* and *Wolsey*; wherein he particularly took notice of the impatient Desire that her Royal Highness had to see his Majesty, which was so acceptable to him, that, in Answer to

and

one of the Archbishop's the King sent another in much stronger Terms than any before.

" *My Lord of York, my good Friend,*

" I very lately received the Letter you sent me,
" and by the Contents thereof understand the good
" and kind Intentions that you have, not only to
" bring about a good Peace and mutual Amity be-
" tween the King, my good Brother, and Cousin,
" and myself, but also to strengthen and encrease
" it, our Honours and Estates.

" For the which, as affectionately as I can, I give
" you Thanks, and I pray you, my Lord of York,
" and my good Friend, firmly to believe, that there
" is no Alliance in *Christendom* I hold more dear,
" than I hold, and ever will hold, while I live, that
" of my said Brother and Cousin, hoping, thro' your
" Means, to find always in him a corresponding In-
" clination.

" And as to what you write about the Passage of
" the Queen, my Wife, I give you Thanks for the
" Pains that you have taken for providing all Things
" requisite and necessary for her Voyage, and the
" extraordinary Diligence you have used, and still use,
" as my Lord of *Marigny* and *Johan de Paris* have
" wrote, beseeching you to continue your Care with
" as much Expedition as you can, because the great-
" est Desire I have at present is to see her on this
" side the Water, and to meet her. In contributing
" to which without loss of Time, as you promised
" me, you will do me a singular Pleasure, and such
" as I shall always remember, and think myself ob-
" liged to you for.

" And as to your having detained the said Lord
" *Marigny* and *Johan de Paris*, to assist you in setting
" out all Things *À la mode de France*, you have done me
" much Pleasure therein, and I have written by these
" Presents to them, that not only in this they should

“ obey you, but also in all other Things you shall
 “ command, with the same Respect as if they were
 “ about my Person.

“ And as to the Pleasure which you inform me, by
 “ your said Letters, my Wife takes in hearing good
 “ News from me, and that the Thing which she
 “ daily desires is to see me, and be in my Company,
 “ I desire you, my Lord of *York*, and good Friend,
 “ to inform her from me, and make her sensible;
 “ that my Desires and Wishes are the same, and in
 “ every respect like hers; and, because it is not pos-
 “ sible that I should see her so soon as I could wish,
 “ I intreat her, that, as often as may be, I may hear
 “ from her, and I promise the like on my Side.

“ Moreover, in respect to the very affectionate and
 “ cordial Assurances, that you have given my Brother
 “ and Cousin on my Part, and those which in his
 “ Name you have given me, I return you my Thanks
 “ with all my Heart, and intreat you to say as much
 “ to him; and also, that you will be pleased to let
 “ me know, if there be any Thing in my Realm
 “ that would please him, and I will spare no Pains to
 “ procure it for him.

“ To conclude, I have seen what you have written
 “ to my Cousin, the Duke of *Longueville*, and I have
 “ ordered him to send you such an Answer as you
 “ see. I desire you will give Credit thereto, and let
 “ me hear from you as often as possible, and thereby
 “ you will do me the greatest Pleasure imaginable.
 “ Praying God to have you my, Lord of *York*, my
 “ good Friend, in his keeping, *I am,*

“ *LOUIS.*

“ Written at *Paris* the — Day of *September*.
 “ Directed to *Mons. de York*, my good Friend.”

We are now entered into the Month of *October*, in
 which the Princess *Mary* was conducted to *Dover* by
 the King and Queen; the Archbishops of *Canterbury*

and York, the Marquis of Dorset, with divers of the Nobility and Gentry. Here the King committed the Princess to the Care of the Duke of Norfolk, and, after having taken a suitable Farewel of his Sister, he with his Court returned to London; the Duke with the Princess embarked for France, with a Retinue agreeable to her high Birth, among whom Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester; Dr. Nicholas West, Dean of Windsor; the Lords de la Warre, Barnars, and Monteagle; Sir Maurice Berkley,* Sir John Pecbe, and Sir Thomas Bulleyn.

The Princess, in her Voyage to France, met with a Storm, whereby the Fleet was separated; some of the Ships were driven on the Coast of Flanders, and that wherein the Princess was to Bologne. Here her Train was landed, and herself carried on Shore by Sir Christopher Garnish, where she was received by Francis (Lewis's Son-in-law) who was now called Duke de Valois, where he again solemnly affianced her in the Name of his Father-in-law.

The Princess Mary lands in France.

From Bologne the Princess proceeded by Land to meet her Royal Consort, attended by the Duke de Valois and the rest of her Retinue, in which were thirty-six Ladies riding on Horse-back, with Trappings of Crimson-velvet, embroidered with Gold, and herself, with all the Advantages of Beauty, rode in a Chariot lined with Tissue-cloth and Crimson-velvet.

Thus was this charming Princess accompanied when she met the French King at Abbeville, a large Town between Calais and Paris, who received her with the highest Tokens of Love, and, on the 9th of October, the Marriage was celebrated with great Pomp.

From

* Sir Maurice was made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Henry the VIIIth, and was summoned to Parliament in the 14th Year of that King, who after-

wards employed him both in a civil and military Capacity, from whom the present Right Honourable Augustus Berkley, Earl of Berkley, is descended.

From this Town the Queen proceeded to *Paris*, and made her publick Entry into that City on the 4th of *November*, which, *Hall* tells us, was as follows : “ First, the City-
Makes her publick Entry into Paris.

“ guards met her without *St. Dennis’s* Gate, cloathed in Goldsmith’s Work ; and then the different Orders of the Clergy to the amount of near Three thousand. Her Majesty sat in a fine Chair covered round with whole Cloth of Gold : On her Head was placed a rich Coronet full of Pearls, and her Neck and Breast covered with Jewels. Before her proceeded a Guard of *German* Soldiers, dressed after the *German* Manner ; and about her Person the King’s Body-guard attended, which were then all *Scotch*, the Dukes of *Valois*, *Bourbon*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Vendosme*, *Longueville*, the Marquis of *Dorset*, Earl of *Worcester*, with five Cardinals, and a prodigious Number of Persons of all Ranks assisted at this Entry.”

In this Manner was the Queen received into *Paris*, being first conducted into the Cathedral, and from thence into the Palace, where *Lewis* the XIIth waited for her with Impatience, and the Evening was closed with the accustomed Ceremonies of Feasting, all sorts of Musick, and Dancing.

The next Day, being the 5th of *November*, she was crowned Queen of *France*.
And crowned Queen of France.

Francis, Duke of *Valois*, caused Jufts and Tournaments to be proclaimed at *Paris*, in Honour of this Marriage and Coronation, at which the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorset* and other Men of Quality were present.

In a Letter from the Marquis of *Dorset*, to Archbishop *Wolsey*, he gives him an Account of what passed at the Jufts in *France*, as follows :
Marquis of Dorset’s Letter to Wolsey.

The

“ The *French* highly commendeth my Lord of
 “ *Suffolk*, and say, that no Christian Prince has two
 “ such Servants as we two, both for Peace and War,
 “ in Field and Council. My Lord of *Suffolk* and I
 “ ran three Days and lost nothing. On *Saturday*, the
 “ 18th of *Nov.* the *Tourney* and Course in the Field
 “ began; my Lord of *Suffolk* and I ran the 1st Day
 “ ourselves; then put our Aids to it, because there
 “ were no Noblemen to run with us. On the 21st
 “ the Fighting on foot began, when they put an
 “ *Almain*, that never came into the Field before,
 “ against my Lord of *Suffolk*, to have put us to
 “ shame, but could not.” Upon this Occasion the
French King said to his Queen, “ That the Lords
 “ of *Dorset* and *Suffolk* had shamed all *France*, and
 “ carried away the Prize.” Soon after this Tour-
 nament the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Mar-
 quis of *Dorset*, Earl of *Worcester*, and other *English*
 Noblemen and Gentlemen returned Home.

As soon as *Lewis* had received and married the Prin-
 cess *Mary*, he repeated by many Letters, (besides
 those we have spoke of) how highly he was obliged
 to *Wolsey*, through the whole Negotiation, both for
 the concluding a Peace between *England* and *France*,
 and compleating this Marriage, generally prefacing
 his Letters with these Word, *My Lord of York, and*
my good Friend.

It was observed, that the *French* so gazed at their
 new Queen's Beauty, that they could not cast their
 Eyes from her attractive Rays, nor could the King
 be satisfied with any other Object. One of their
 Historians says, “ That he gave himself over too
 “ much to behold her most admirable Beauty, not
 “ considering her Youth (being but eighteen) and
 “ his own weak decayed Body.”

Notwithstanding all this, the Queen was soon made
 uneasy, for, quickly after the Marriage Ceremony and
 Coronation were performed, her Retinue, which she
 brought

brought from *England*, were dismissed, except a few Officers and Attendants, amongst whom was *Anna Bulleyn*. Of this she complains in a Letter to Archbishop *Wolsey*; wherein she informs him, "The Day
 " I was married my Servants were discharged, which
 " gave me no small Uneasiness; I wish instead
 " of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who has been too con-
 " descending to the *French*, your Grace had been en-
 " trusted to conduct me to *France*."

The Pope, Maximilian and Ferdinand endeavour to prevent the Peace between *England* and *France*.

When the Pope, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand* heard, that *Henry* and *Lewis* were in Treaty, without consulting either of them, they used all imaginable Pains to obstruct it, being fully convinced that such a Juncture would turn to their Prejudice, by throwing the Burthen of the War upon them: And though, at the Close of the last Year, *Leo* the Xth sent to persuade *Henry* to a Peace with that King, when he saw it upon the Point of being concluded, he sorely repented his Advice; and, to cross the Negotiation at *London* as much as he could, he proposed a new League with the King of *France*. *Lewis* took a Fortnight to give him an Answer, during which time he pushed on his Negotiations with *England*: But the Pope, not having Patience to stay so long, concluded a defensive League with old *Ferdinand* for a Year only, thinking, in that Time, he should better see what turn the Affairs of *Europe* might take, principally in respect to *France* and *England*.

In short, the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Emperor, would at any rate have broke the Negotiation, which the two latter attempted at by sending to *Lewis* their Consent in form, for the Marriage of *Charles* of *Austria*, Grandson to the Emperor, with *Renee*, Daughter of *France*: And *Ferdinand* went farther, he offered to assist *Lewis* to re-conquer *Milan*. But all would not do, for they had the Mortification

to

to hear, not only that *England* had made up her Differences with *France*, but that neither of them were so much as mentioned in the Treaty of *London*.

Last Year *Henry* concluded a Treaty with *Maximilian*, and agreed to pay him a considerable Sum of Money; but this Year we find no notice taken of it, the King now growing almost as cunning as his Allies, thinking it proper to keep his Cash at home, and slight them, as they had slighted him. However, both *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* feigned to be extremely pleased with the Peace, though very likely in their Hearts were exceedingly vexed.

It was now expected that the King of *France*, being freed from the War with *England*, would attempt to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, and the Pope was so far persuaded of it, that he wrote to exhort him to that Expedition, though he at the same time used all Endeavours to break his Measures; by setting on foot again a Treaty between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, but to no purpose; for the Republick, thinking he was not in earnest, made this use of it, to inform *Lewis* what his Holiness was driving at. In short, before a new War could be rekindled in the *Milanese*, *Lewis* expired, *January* the 1st, amidst his long-wished for Bliss, the Enjoyment of so fair a Lady.

Leo's Artifice.

Lewis the XIIth's Death and Character.

Dr. *Fiddes* takes notice, " That this Prince, in the
" course of his Reign, had a Mixture of good and
" ill Fortune, and, considered in his personal Character,
" (though he had some Failures) was one of the
" greatest Men of the Age wherein he lived; his
" Courage and Spirit animated him to great Undertakings, in the Prosecution of which he was vigilant and active; he had a martial Genius, an undaunted Heart, and a politick Head. He had not only the Pope, the Emperor, *England*, *Spain*, and the *Swiss* at once against him, but the Charge of

“ supporting an unhappy dethroned King, * who
 “ brought him no other Assistance than the Justice
 “ of his Cause. Under all these Difficulties *Lewis*
 “ the XIIth found Means to dissolve the formidable
 “ League against him, and he had the Satisfaction
 “ to re-establish his Affairs, and to put them upon
 “ a good footing before his Death;” which happened
 80 Days after the Completion of his Marriage, leaving
 behind him no Issue Male: But that Esteem
 among his Subjects, for his Care not to oppress
 them with Impositions longer than his Necessities re-
 quired, gained him the Name of *Father of his People*;
 and his Memory is now so highly revered in *France*,
 that a celebrated Writer† of that Nation says, “ The
 “ Affection of *Lewis* the XIIth for his People will
 “ be had in Remembrance as long as *France* endures:”
 And *Costar* declaims, “ Our *Lewis* the XIIth, tho’ he
 “ well deserved the Title of *Father of his People*,
 “ was he not brought upon the Stage in his good
 “ City of *Paris*, and represented as an insatiable Miser,
 “ who drank in a great gold Goblet, without being
 “ able to quench his unreasonable Thirst? yet he prai-
 “ sed the Invention, and made himself merry with it,
 “ and perhaps was glad that his Love of Riches,
 “ which had never given the least of his Sub-
 “ jects occasion to weep, furnished them with Mat-
 “ ter of Laughter and agreeable Diversion.” Here
 we plainly perceive, that *Lewis* was so far from re-
 senting the Freedom that some of his Subjects had
 taken with his Character, that he made himself as
 merry as themselves with what they exhibited seem-
 ingly against him.

Father *Daniel* observes, “ That the King died at
 “ *Paris*, in the 54th Year of his Age, and the 17th
 “ of his Reign; and that History speaks of *Lewis*
 “ as a Prince the best qualified for a Kingdom that
 “ ever

* Of *Navarre*.

† *Monf. Voltaire*.

“ ever governed, for Valour, Prudence, Application,
 “ and Judgment. Besides his other Virtue he had
 “ Piety; he was a politick Prince, but withal a
 “ generous and Christian Governor; an Enemy to
 “ false and perfidious Dealings, notwithstanding the
 “ bad Examples of the Emperor and the King of
 “ *Spain*, who, though several times his Allies, were
 “ in the bottom his mortal Enemies. In a Word,
 “ there are few Princes to be met with in History,
 “ that have equaled him in Royal Virtues, or have
 “ set upon a Throne with less Faults.”

The fatal Overthrow of the late King,
 with the Flower of the Nobility and Gen-
 try of *Scotland*, at *Floddon-field*, filled the
 Remnant of the State not only with great

Affairs of Scot-
land. James the
Vth.

1514.

Sorrow, but Amazement and Perplexity; for, by this un-
 fortunate Blow, they expected nothing less than that the
 Victor's Arms would follow them, which might end in
 the total Ruin of the Kingdom. However, their Fears
 were soon over on that Head, by reason the *English*,
 after the Battle, pursued them no farther; so that
 the Winter was spent in Mourning, and performing
 their last Duties to their slain Fathers, Brothers,
 Kinsmen, and Friends. But, after their Grief was a
 little assuaged, the Remainder of the Peers assembled
 at *Sterling* for proclaiming the late King's only
 Son their Sovereign, by the Name of *James* the Vth,
 then not two Years old, and declaring Queen *Margaret*
 Regent, according to the Directions of her late
 Husband's Will.

Her Majesty's first Act of Government was to
 write to her Brother *Henry* the VIIIth to the following
 Effect: “ That she hoped he would have Compassion
 “ upon the Tears and Prayers of an inconsola-
 “ ble Widow, and his Sister; of an Orphan, and his
 “ Nephew; and that he would not only cease pur-
 “ suing the War against *Scotland*, but have the Good-

ness to defend her and her Infant Son against all Enemies foreign and domestick."

To which *Henry* generously answered: "That with the Peaceable he would make Peace, and with the Froward and Turbulent, War. If the *Scots* would live peaceably they should have it for his Part; that, if they would rather fight, he would not refuse them. That her Husband, the King's Father, by his own indiscrete Rashness, and Kindness to *France*, was the Occasion of his own Ruin, and he still regretted his Faults and Heat: For his Part he was willing to prohibit all Hostilities against the *Scotch*, and grant them a Truce for a Year and a Day."

The Queen, upon the Receipt of this Letter, agreed to what the King her Brother proposed; so that she earnestly set to work to restore the Disorders that the Country was fallen into. The Guard of the Borders was committed to the care of *John Johnston*,* a Gentleman of great Courage and Spirit, who, by his Vigilance, kept Matters in that Quarter much quieter than they had hitherto been.

Affairs of Ire-
land.

1514.

The Earl of *Kildare*† was so well pleased with the Success which attended his former Expedition, that, after he had made such Preparations as a new Expedition seemed to require, he begun his March in *August*, 1513, against the noted Rebels *Ely* and *Carol*; but at *Atky* he fell sick, and from thence was removed to *Kildare*, where, on the 3d of *September*, he died, and was buried in *Christ-Church, Dublin*, to which he had been a liberal Benefactor, as before related. Thus were the future Designs of this Lord defeated even in the midst of his Career,

Ge-

* The *Johnston's* are a great, ancient, and warlike Family; and from this Gentleman the Right Honourable *George*, Marquis of *Annandale*, is descended.

† From this great Man, being one of the most ancient Families in *Europe*, the present Right Honourable *Robert*, Earl of *Kildare*, is descended.

Gerard, Earl of *Kildare*, and Lord Treasurer, upon his Death, took upon himself the Government of *Ireland*, as Lord Justice, (being empowered by an Act of Parliament, made in the 10th of *Henry* the VIIth) in Vertue of his Place of Treasurer. But it seems, 32 *Hen.* VIII. there was a Statute made, entitled, *An Act for the Electing of the Lord Justice*, which restrained the Council from electing any one but an *Englishman* born, and not in Orders.

The Lord *Slane*† was, upon this Remove, made Lord High Treasurer, and Sir *William Crompton*, Lord Chancellor. Whilst these Matters were settling *Daniel Mac-William*, with a Party of *Wild Irish* under his Command, took the Castle of *Dunline*; nor did the rest of the *Wild Irish* find any Opposition during the Winter, insomuch that they destroyed and ravaged the Country where-ever they came.

The beginning of the Year 1514, the valiant Earl of *Kildare*, who was Heir to his Father's Courage as well as his Honours, grew impatient at the Insolence of these Rebels, and in particular of *O More* and *O Reyly*; therefore resolved to attack them successively. He begun with *O More*, and pursued him some Miles into the Country, and beat that Rebel and his Party into the Woods; which being done, he next went and took the Castle of *Cavan*, and, having killed *O Reyly*, and many of his Followers, he chased the Remainder into their inaccessible strong Holds, and there burnt and destroyed them; then returned to *Dublin* his Men being loaded with Booty. His Zeal for his Majesty's Service was extremely well received by the King and his *English* Subjects; of which Archbishop *Wolsey* took care to let *Kildare* know, and it was no little Encouragement for him still to exert himself against the Enemies

* From this Nobleman the present Right Honourable *Fleming*, Lord *Slane*, is descended.

emies to the Peace of his Country: And here we shall conclude the Year 1514.

Affairs of France.
Francis the 1st.

1515.

THE Death of *Lewis* the XIIth, which ended the last Year's Transactions, made way for the Succession of *Francis*, Duke of *Valois*, or, as some called him, Count de *Angoulesme*, who was a Prince endowed with all the Qualities proper to make a great Monarch; in Temper mild, easy of Access, liberal and magnificent in all Things; of a comely handsome Person, quick Wit, true in Judgment, stout, undaunted in Danger, indefatigable in Undertakings, constant in ill Fortune, a Lover of Learning, and had a great Value for learned Men: So that, with all these great Talents, it was thought he would have carried his Conquests far and near.

Henry the VIIIth
writes to the Queen
of France.

Lewis the XIIth's Queen Dowager, on the Death of the King, declared, that she would return to *England*. In the mean time *Henry*, her Brother, sent a special Messenger to her Majesty, with Letters of Condolance and Comfort; and particularly advised her not to enter into any new Contract of Marriage without his Knowledge and Consent.

Archbishop *Wolsey* wrote to her on the same Subject, and concluded his Letter with entreating her Majesty to conform herself to the King's Advice.

Her remarkable
Answer.

The Queen's Answer was this: "She protested, that if the King would have her marry in any Place, save where her Mind was, she would shut herself up in some Religious House."

This Letter made some Impression upon the King; and, as the Queen had declared her Resolution to return to *England*, he was pleased to send the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and Dr. *West* to the *French* Court,

Court, not only to congratulate the new King upon his Accession to the Throne, but to attend and conduct the Royal Widow to *England*, in a Manner becoming her Dignity : And upon their Arrival, they were introduced to his Majesty, where they performed the Commission they were charged with, and were received very graciously.

Henry sends Ambassadors to Compliment the King of France.

The Duke had not long attended upon this beautiful Queen, before he observed, that she still retained her former Affection for him ; and, as they frequently conversed together, she at last took Occasion to tell him, “ That the Happiness of the Marriage-state consisted not so much in great Dignities, as in the Love and Affection the Parties had for each other ; and that, if ever she married again, she would marry where her Love was, or continue single the Remainder of her Life.” These Hints convinced him, that he would be wanting to himself, if he neglected to carry so fair a Prize ; yet he considered the great Distance, between a Sovereign Princess and a Subject, which made him at Times fearful of Success, and deterred him from declaring that secret Affection he had all along borne for this amiable Princess.

The Queen however was resolved (though the Duke had not yet made her suitable Returns for the Affection she had partly discovered for him) to accomplish her Desire, and accordingly waited on the *French* King, and frankly disclosed her Mind to him, viz. “ That her Design was nothing less than to marry the Duke of *Suffolk*, and conjured him to assist her in perfecting her Wishes.” His Majesty, without Hesitation, readily promised to assist her in what she requested.

Some Days after this Interview, the *English* Ambassadors were conducted in great State to a publick Audience ; when the Ceremony was over, and they

retiring

retiring from his Majesty's Presence, he was pleased to take the Duke of *Suffolk* into his Bed-chamber, where he expressed the high personal Esteem and Respect he had for him; and, in the turn of Discourse, told the Duke, "It was reported he was come over to marry the Queen of *France*, his Master's Sister." *Suffolk*, with great Submission, seemed to deny it; whereto the King rejoined, "I will be plain with you, my Lord Duke, the Queen herself has informed me of it, and desired my Assistance, which I have promised, upon the Veracity of a King, and I repeat the same to you." The Duke thanked his Majesty for his Kindness, and made no longer a Secret of his Affection for the Queen; but added, "If this Matter should be known, and come to the Knowledge of my Royal Master, I shall be undone." *Francis* pleasantly answered, "Let that alone to me; for I and the Queen shall so solicit your Master, that he shall be content." And with many other kind Expressions, his Majesty dismissed him.

As Archbishop *Wolsey* had, upon *Suffolk's Letter to Wolsey*, several Occasions, shewed himself the common Friend both of the Queen and *Suffolk*, the Duke in a Letter laid before him the Substance of what passed at, and after the Audience, concluding it in the following Words:

"I cannot but communicate to you, my Lord of *York*, what has passed on this Occasion, because I intend to hide nothing from you, and earnestly desire your speedy Advice, and whether you intend to inform the King of this Letter? And I thank God, said he, that he, whom I feared most, is most willing to be an Author of this Act himself, and to be an Advocate for me to the King, my Master."

Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Wolsey* broke the Matter to the King, and used all his Interest to soften his Sovereign's Anger. At first, resolute *Henry* expressed

Henry expressed his great Displeasure at what was transacting in *France*; but, by gentle Degrees, his Majesty's Resentment abated; which, when *Wolsey* found, he advised the Duke to write in soft Strains to the King, which he accordingly did, and it was well received. The Queen likewise wrote strenuously to her Brother on this pleasing Subject, and put him in mind of his Promise, and concluded her Letter in this Manner: "That your Grace well knows what *I did*, as "to my first Marriage, was for *your Pleasure*; and "now, I trust, you will suffer me to do what *I like*."

By these different Proceedings Matters looked with a favourable Aspect, and nothing seemed to remain but the Marriage and Consummation. For the lovely Queen at once declared to the Duke, "That, unless he resolved to marry her within four Days, "she would never have him." The Duke was not wanting on his Part, for he immediately married her privately, in *March*, about two Months after the Death of *Lewis* her Spouse.

The Duke and Queen marry.

As the Queen's Marriage with the Duke was privately celebrated in *France*, unknown to the King, her Brother, she wrote him a Letter, and took the Fault wholly upon herself, justifying the Duke, her Husband, by declaring, "That she had limited him to the Space "of four Days, at the same Time protesting, that unless he came to a Resolution within that Space, he "must despair in his Pretensions; which was the Reason that induced the Duke privately to marry her." *

But the Queen, not immediately receiving an Answer to this Letter, the Duke writ to *Wolsey*, wherein,

VOL. II.

L 1

among

* Some of the modern Fair, perhaps, may condemn this Princess's great Freedom on this Occasion; but we cannot. Our Opinion is, that their Sex have as much Right to a candid Declaration of their Affection as the Men, and may and can deliver it with all the Softness and Modesty requisite: Nay, we think it much more generous and eligible, than to want a tedious, toying (and oftentimes wanton) Courtship, so called.

among other Acknowledgments, he confesses, "That, next to God and the King, he owes to him all the Honours that had attended him; and, in the Conclusion, expresses his Fear of the King's Displeasure, in respect to his Marriage, and earnestly begs him to mediate in his Favour."

The Archbishop, in Answer to this Letter, shewed both the Queen and the Duke the Steps he had taken, in order to soften the King's Displeasure, intimating, "That there was great Likelihood of Success; advising them to write to his Majesty in the most submissive Stile, which he did not in the least doubt would have a good Effect."

The Queen and Duke pursued *Wolsey's* Advice, and no sooner did the King receive their Letters, but he expressed himself willing to forgive them, and gave his Consent, that the Duke and Queen should return to *England*; who, being informed thereof, testified, by particular Letters to *Wolsey*, the grateful Sense they had of his Friendship, and immediately caused Preparations to be made for their Voyage to *England*.

On the 16th of *April*, after they had taken a suitable Leave of the *French* Court, they departed from *Paris*, attended by all the *English* in their Retinue (except *Anna Bulleyn*, who remained in *France*); on the 2d of *May* they landed in *England*, and soon arrived at Court; when they had made proper Submission to the King, they were received into Favour, and, on the 13th of the same Month, they were publickly married at *Greenwich*, in the Presence of his Majesty, the Archbishops and Bishops, and a great Concourse of the Nobility and Gentry, and then received the Compliments and Congratulations upon the happy Union. The Account the learned Bishop *Burnet* gives us of the Duke* is, "That he never meddled much in Business;

* The Duke had Issue by the VIIIth's youngest Sister) two Queen *Mary* of *France* (*Henry* Sons, *Henry* and *Charles*, who

“ Business ; and, by all that appears, he was a better
“ Courtier than Statesman.”

The Queen brought over with her the Value of 200,000 Crowns in Jewels, Plate, and Tapestry, which she was intituled to by Virtue of the Treaty made on her Marriage with *Lewis* the XIIth, amongst which was a Diamond, called *le Mirroir de Naples*, which King *Francis* would have purchased at any Rate.

About this Time *Francis* the Ist sent an Ambassador to *England*, it being stipulated in the former Treaty, that the Successor of him that died first was to acquaint the other, whether he designed to prolong the Time of the Alliance ; and therefore the End of this Ambassy was, to request a Renewal thereof, and

Francis the Ist sends an Ambassador to Henry.

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died, in the Year 1550, of the Sweating Sicknes, at *Cambridge*, within twelve Hours of each other ; and two Daughters, the Ladies *Frances* and *Eleanor*. (See *Dugd. Bar.* Vol. II. p. 300.) The eldest, *Frances*, married *Henry Grey*, Marquis of *Dorset*, afterwards created Duke of *Suffolk*. It is said, the principal Noblemen and Ladies that sprung from the Lady *Frances*, Viscountess of *Weymouth*, who had the Honour to be descended from this illustrious Branch of the said Queen and Duke's Family, are the present Right Honourable *Thomas*, Earl of *Ailesbury*, and his Aunt, the Countess of *Cardigan* ; the late Earl of *Winchelsea*'s Sister, and the Earl himself, whose Successor is the present Right Honourable *Daniel*, Earl of *Winchelsea* and *Nottingham*, first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, &c. whose Sister, the Lady *Betty Finch*, married the eminent Lawyer, and excellent Orator, the Ho-

nourable *William Murray*, Esq ; his Majesty's Solicitor General. *Eleanor*, the youngest Daughter, of the said Queen and Duke, married *Henry*, Lord *Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, which Title is extinct : But the illustrious Name of *Clifford* will never die, in regard the Blood of that noble House now runs in the Veins of the present Right Honourable *Richard Boyle*, Earl of *Burlington*, &c. who will ever be renowned for his popular Spirit, in encouraging all Liberal Arts and Sciences, particularly *Architecture*, in which he is allowed to have a most sublime Taste ; and it may be truly said of this Nobleman, that he has been blest with Riches, and a Soul to enjoy it. The Right Honourable *Charles Boyle*, Earl of *Orrery*, is of this noble Family ; as was also the late Lord *Shannon*. In short, they have, for several Generations, shone as well in the Senatorial as Martial Capacity.

to give a new Bond for the Payment of the Money, which *Lewis*, the former King, had undertaken. This Matter being settled, a Treaty was signed the 5th of *April*, without any Variation from the former, other than in Point of Form, and including the young King of *Scotland* in it.

The Proceedings of the 5th Parliament.

On the 5th of *February* the Parliament met, at which Time Bishop *Wolsey* took his Seat in the House of Lords, as Archbishop of *York*; but, as the Nation was in profound Tranquillity, both Houses were solely employed in Domestick Affairs, and after they had passed these several Acts,* they broke up.

Arch-

* 1. To direct, before Exigents upon Outlawries shall be awarded into Counties, where the Party does not reside, that Proclamation shall be first made in the County by the Sheriff, where the Party actually resides, in order that he or she may have Notice of it.

2. Imported, that, whereas divers Felons and Murderers did, upon several feigned and untrue Surmises, get themselves removed, to the *King's-Bench*, and could not, by Order of Law, be remitted and sent down to the Justices of Gaol-Delivery; and that therefore, for the Future, the Justices of the *King's-Bench* should have full Power and Authority to remand and send down the Bodies and Indictments of all Felons and Murderers into the County, where the Felony or Murder was committed.

3. Farther Directions about the making of Woollen Cloths in *Devonshire*.

4. To punish Deceits in making Woollen Cloths, with an Ex-

ception, not to extend to certain Cloths made in *Devonshire*, *Cornwal*, *Wales*, *Lancashire*, and *Cheeshire*.

5. To make second Letters Patents void, where there is no Mention of the first.

6. That no Member of the House of Commons shall depart from the Parliament before the End of the Session, without Licence first obtained of the House, and the Licence to be entered upon Record by the Clerk of the Parliament, under Penalty of losing their Stipend.

'Twas said, that what gave Rise to this last Act, was, that it frequently happened, towards the Close of a Session, that several Members, true Lovers of their Country, were wont to return home, apprehending that all Matters of Moment were then gone through; which those that were otherwise disposed took Advantage of, and got some Bills pass'd that would not probably have been proposed in a full House,

Now

Archbishop *Wolsey* took Care to solicit the King, to preserve to the Church of *Tournay* their antient Privileges, in which he succeeded so much to the Satisfaction of the Chapter, that they wished for an Opportunity of testifying how much they were obliged by this great Favour; and this they were not long without: For, shortly after, the Archbishop recommended a young Student

Affairs relating to Tournay.

Now we are speaking of Passing of *Acts of Parliament*, let us say a few Words of the Laws, and of the Members who are a material Part of our Constitution, in respect to the making them. The reverend and learned Mr. *Hooker* remarks of the Law, 'That there can be no less acknowledged of it, than that, 1. Her Seat is the Bosom of God: 2. Her Voice is the Harmony of the World: 3. All Things in Heaven and Earth do her Homage; the very least, as feeling her Care, and the greatest, as not exempt from her Power. Both Angels and Men, and Creatures of what Condition soever, tho' each in different Sort and Manner, yet all with uniform Consent admiring her, as the Mother of their Peace and Joy."

As the Law is sacred, what Care ought we not to take in electing those who may be called the *Law-makers*; for the Case is not now as formerly. *Parliaments* rarely continued above One Session, 'till towards the latter End of *Henry the VIIIth's* Time; and when he found it answerable to his Views, to have a long Acquaintance with the Representatives of his People, many Members found a sensible Conveniency

in their Service; who therefore, on the Dissolution of the Parliament, and calling a new one, spared no Expence to get re-elected: Which seems to be the Beginning of the Crown's tampering with the Sheet-anchor of the People's Freedom, by finding out Ways and Means to make their Representatives, or Trustees, more than useful to it. As to the Electors, or Receivers of Bribes, or Favours, (which is almost the same thing) from the Parties they elect on such Terms, the old English Proverb will certainly be verified on them, *That Man that buys dear, cannot live by selling cheap*. Free Elections are the Life and Soul of our Constitution, which the present Right Honourable the Speaker* of the Honourable House of Commons hath fully evinced to us, in his memorable Speech from the Chair, on the 23d Day of January, 1741, when, according to Order, he reprimanded three offending Justices of the Peace, on their Knees at the Bar of the said House, for unwarrantably countenancing an armed Force, to support an Election; which carries in it so much of the noble Spirit of true Liberty, we cannot omit inserting Part of it here; and we doubt not but

* *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for *Surry*.

dent to the Chapter, to be preferred to some Church-Benefice, which they readily complied with; and, to his Letter of Recommendation, returned him for Answer, "That they were exceeding glad of a Letter from his Grace, and so much the more, that they had thereby the Opportunity they had long sought for, of expressing their high Respect for his Grace, not that they could repay any thing answerable to his

it will make his Name venerable to latest Posterity. His Words are these :

" I cannot better describe to you the Nature of this Offence you have been guilty of, than in the Words of the Resolution this House came to, upon their Examination into that Matter, which are,

" That the Presence of a regular Body of armed Soldiers, at an Election of Members to serve in Parliament, is an high Infringement of the Liberties of the Subject, a manifest Violation of the Freedom of Elections, and an open Defiance of the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom."

" And it is impossible, if you well consider the Terms of this Resolution, but that you must have in your Breasts the deepest Sorrow and Remorse for this rash Act of yours; which, if it had not been animadverted upon, might have given the most dangerous Wound to the Constitution of this Free Country, that perhaps it had ever felt.— This Country, Free, because

" this House is so; which this House can never be, but from the Freedom of Elections to it: And, amidst the too many Ways for violating That, none can be more pernicious, because none more quick, decisive and permanent, than what you might unhappily have set a Precedent for, and which might have grown to an Extremity, under the specious and ready Pretences of Fears and Necessity, that supersede all Law; a Precedent, that would have received an Authority from the Place* it began in.—The Seat of the Government and Legislature of this Kingdom.

" Necessity, which is to take Place of Law, must be left to the Circumstances of every particular Case. The Act must be presumed to be wrong, inquired into as such, and excused only by the clearest Proofs, that the Necessity of it was real.

" What you have done, is against one of the most essential Parts of the Law of the Kingdom. Has any real Necessity been shown for it? There might be Fears; there might be some Danger; but did you try the Strength of the Law to dispel those Fears, and remove

* City and Liberty of *Westminster*.

that

“ his Benefits towards them ; but as it was fit to declare in some sort their Gratitude for his paternal Care, and to acknowledge the extraordinary Honour, and singular Observance they had to the same, they unanimously consented to his Request, and yielded to him whatever he desired, there being nothing that they would not cheerfully do for his Sake.”

Some time after the Canons received a Sum of Money, part whereof Dr. *Sampson* apprehended belonged to his Master, in right of his Bishoprick, and claimed it accordingly ; but the Canons being of a different

“ that Danger ? Did you make use of those Powers the Law has invested you with, as Civil Magistrates, for the Preservation of the Publick Peace ? No — you deserted all That ; and wantonly, I hope inadvertently, resorted to that Force, the most unnatural of all others, in all respects, to that Cause and Business you were then attending, and for the Freedom of which every *British* ought to be ready almost to suffer any thing — More might be said — But you have acknowledged your Offence, and have asked Pardon for it. This has disposed the House to Lenity : Use it not to lessen the Sense of your Crime ; but to raise in your Hearts that Sense of Gratitude you owe to the House, for the gentle Treatment you have met with on this Occasion : In Expectation of which you are discharged, paying your Fees.”

To this excellent Declaration, we shall subjoin a few Lines from the Author of *Lex Parliamentaria*.

“ There’s nothing ought to be so dear to the Commons of Great Britain, as a Free Parliament, that is, a House of Commons every way free and independent of the Lords, Ministry, &c. Free in their Persons, Free in their Estates, Free in their Returns, Free in their Assembling, Free in their Speeches, Debates, and Determinations, Free to complain of Offenders, Free in their Prosecution for Offences, and therefore Free from the Fear or Influence of others, how great soever, Free to guard against the Incroachments of Arbitrary Power, Free to preserve the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects, and yet Free to part with a Share of those Properties, when necessary, for the Service of the Publick : ” And conclude with this Remark, from the *Rolls of Parliam.* in Henry the Fifth’s Time, “ Complaints and Subsidies belong to the Commons, Judgment to the Lords, and Redress is the Glory of the Crown ; which we hope will be preserved to the End of Time. ,

different Opinion, to prevent any Misunderstanding with their Bishop, they sent him a Letter to signify,

“ That they had shewed the learned Doctor, his Vicar-general, that that Money, tho’ paid into their Treasury, belonged not to his Grace, but was particularly set apart for the Fabrick of the Church, and other religious Uses, which had been granted to their Church by the Apostolical Decree; but promised his Grace, that whatever could be expected from them, his most faithful Beads-men, should be performed; for that his Name and Dignity was most dear to them, to whom they were for many Reasons bound; that thro’ whose Care the Liberties of their Church were by the King’s Gift preserved and defended, and had such Governors and Rectors as guarded them and their Privileges; and earnestly requested his Grace to continue his Patronage and Defence of their Church; praying Almighty God to preserve their most victorious King, and their Bishop with prosperous Success.”

We find when Dr. *Sampson* went in Bishop *Wolsey*’s Name, into certain Towns in *Flanders*, belonging to this Diocese, in order to get in the Bishop’s Dues, he found but odd Treatment from the Officers of the Town. The Bishop Elect, as he was then called, claiming the Property of what *Sampson* endeavoured to collect. Of this he wrote to his Lord, and, in the Conclusion of his Letter, says, “ That, if his Grace would quietly enjoy this Administration, he must get the *French* King to write to his Bishop, not to oppose; for if the Officers saw the *French* King’s Letters in his Favour they would immediately obey: Otherwise, should his Grace follow the Process of the Law, and the Bishop elect defend his Possession, it might be attended with infinite Inconvenience to his Grace: And therefore, as they, the Officers, have desired to have a Day of Respite, to advise with the Bishop elect, he had granted it till St.

Martin’s

“ *Martin’s Day*, and hoped by that time the *French*
 “ King would cause the Bishop Elect to desist, with-
 “ out which it would be impossible for his Grace to
 “ hold this Administration in any Peace.

Tho’ Bishop *Wolsey* had obtained the Pope’s
 Brief, to confirm him in this Bishoprick, yet the
 Officers, belonging to the Party of the Bishop Elect,
 objected to certain Passages in the Brief: To which Dr.
Sampson replied, “ That the Bishop Elect’s Absence and
 “ Desertion of the Bishoprick was sufficient Cause to
 “ justify what the Pope had been pleased to grant to
 “ his Master.” To this it was answered, “ That what
 “ the Bishop Elect had done was in time of Necessi-
 “ fity, for his own Safety, the City being in the
 “ Hands of the *English*.” These Proceedings, *Samp-
 son*, by Letter, laid before the Bishop, repeated his
 former Advice, and acquainted his Grace he would
 remain at *Bruges* for further Instructions.

During these Disputes, Dr. *Sampson* had a deal of
 Trouble, and was at great Expences; but the grateful
 Bishop took care to reimburse the one, and handsomely
 Recompencc him for the other; for he forthwith
 ordered him a Supply of Money according to his De-
 sire, and soon after got the Doctor to be made one of
 the King’s Chaplains, and Dean of St. *Stephen’s*, which
 paved the Way for many other Dignities and Places,
 as well as a Bishoprick, which he in the Conclusion
 obtained, (as our Church Histories testify) and arrived
 at last to be one of King *Henry’s* Privy Counsellors.

Dr. *Sampson* was so well satisfied with the Favours he
 received from his Patron, that in Return, he made
 him many handsome Presents, one of which was a
 choice Piece of Tapestry, wherein was woven an ex-
 quisite Figure of St. *George*: This Present Bishop
Wolsey received very kindly; and the Doctor often in
 Return expressed his great Satisfaction with his Pa-
 tron’s Favours, and frequently stiled him, *The Father*
of his Country.

Whilst *Sampson* was thus busy in endeavouring to procure the Revenues of *Tournay* Bishoprick, *Adrian*, Bishop of *Bath*, the King's Orator at *Rome*, out of mere Hatred to Bishop *Wolsey*, suffered a Bull to be obtained in Favour of the *French* Bishop, in order to restore him to the Bishoprick, which made him much more troublesome, for now, in a peremptory Manner, he demanded the Revenues, threatening to excommunicate all such as refused to comply with his Demands, inasmuch as the Bull was directed to all Christian Princes, to assist him with their Forces, to put him into Possession of this Bishoprick, under pain of Excommunication.

Upon this, Dr. *Sampson* wrote to the Archbishop, representing, "That, if some effectual Care was not speedily taken, to suppress, or get the Bull set aside, it was impossible he could any longer be of Service to his Grace in those Parts."

Bishop *Wolsey* was surprized at the Receipt of this Letter, since he had no Account from *Rome*, of any Solicitation at that Time in Favour of the *French* Bishop.

This Behaviour of the Court of *Rome* was highly resented by the King, who, in a Letter to the Pope, assured him, "That his Troops would by no Means think themselves obliged to execute so unjust a Sentence; declared the Pope's Proceedings to be contrary to the Laws of God or Man, and charged the Bishop of *Bath* not only with Negligence but Infidelity; and, in case he did not take care to procure a Revocation of the Bull, the Bishop was given to understand, that he should be superceded by one who would have more Regard to the Trust reposed in him." Then his Majesty directed Bishop *Wolsey* to apply to the Bishop of *Worcester* to get the Bull revoked, who shortly after obtained another Bull which superceded the *French* Bishop's. This last Bull had its desired Effect, and Bishop *Wol-*

sey was soon after made easy in the Enjoyment of this Bishoprick.

The Parliament met again the 12th of November, but, as the laying before the House the King's Resolution, in Regard to France, was not ripe, there was no mention made of any Foreign Affairs: So that, after the passing this Law,* with others since expired or repealed, they broke up.

Proceedings of the sixth Parliament.

The English Clergy, in a Synod held at this Time, in Answer to the Pope, concerning his Demands of an extraordinary Subsidy, on Pretence of an apparent War with the Turks, alledged, that they were so exhausted by the late War with France, at the Instance of Julius the 11th, for the Defence of the Church, they were not now in a Condition to grant a new Subsidy; and that, besides, by a Decree of the Council of Constance, the Popes could lay no Imposition on the Clergy without a general Council.

The English Clergy hold a Synod.

When his Holiness received this general Answer, he then thought proper to withdraw his Demand upon that learned Body, and they soon after broke up.

In April died James Stanley, Dr. of Divinity, Bishop of Ely, who was educated at Oxford, and made a Bishop in the Year 1506, which he enjoyed about eight Years and a half, but made no great Figure. He was succeeded in this See, on the 7th of October, by Nicholas West, Dean of Windsor, who was the Son of John West, a Baker at Putney, where the Bishop enlarged the

Bishop Stanley's Death, &c.

Bishop West's Rise, &c.

M m 2

Church

* Directing how Rents and Services were to be recovered upon an Advowry, where the Parties had suffered a Recovery against them of their Lands, &c. for the Performance of their

Wills, Jointures, and other Provisions made by Deed; for which, before the passing this Act, his Majesty's Subjects were without Remedy at the Common Law.

Church, by the Addition of a very beautiful Chapel, built of Freestone, Arched over, and curiously wrought. His first Education was at *Eaton*, from whence he was sent to *King's College* in *Cambridge*, where, upon a Quarrel with the Provost, about the Choice of a Porter, he set his Lodgings on Fire, for which he was expelled the College and University; but afterwards, making an Attonement for his first Error, he was received into the University again, and lived there many Years in great Estimation, till he arrived to his Bishoprick, which he enjoyed to his Death, in the Year 1533, and was buried at *Ely*, who had been a great Benefactor to *King's College*.

Bishop Fox's Endowments, &c. *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was very much advanced in Years, and through his indefatigable Industry, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs, for a long Series of Years, his Health was very much impaired, particularly his Eye-sight, which now greatly failed him, (and before his Death he was blind) he therefore thought proper to solicit, and accordingly obtained his Majesty's Permission to retire for a Time to his Diocesan Palace to enjoy a pleasant Retreat from the Noise of Business and Worldly Affairs: And this he did after he had taken a kind Leave of his old Friend and Chaplain, *Wolsey*, now Archbishop of *York*. Here he had not been long before he determined, by the Advice of his Friends, to Found a College.

His first Design was to have founded a Monastery, from which he was persuaded by Bishop *Oldham*. *As for Monasteries (says the Bishop) they have more already than they are like long to keep.* This Observation soon caused Bishop *Fox* to change his Intention, and set about Founding *Corpus Christi* College, which he endowed with Possessions to the yearly Value of 401 l. 8 s. 11 d. and it has since produced many learned Men, and is now in a flourishing Condition,

In



N. Parr Sculp.



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In the Year 1522 he was at the Expence of building a Free School near the Castle in *Taunton*, and a neat House for the Schoolmaster, of the like at *Grantham*, (where it was believed he was born) of Covering the Choir at *Winchester*, and the Presbitery and Isles adjoining; of making a new Vault; of new Glazing that Part of the Church; of building a Partition between the Presbitery and the said Isles; and, finally, of moving the Bones of several Princes and Prelates, that were deposited about the Cathedral, into handsome Monuments upon the Top of the new Partitions.

It's said, Bishop *Oldham* was a Man of great Devotion; tho' somewhat rough in Speech, yet friendly in Deed and Action. He was remarkable for preserving the Rights and Privileges of the Church, and for his Liberality to the Vicars and other Spiritual Men that officiated under him; and, tho' he was not much esteemed for his Learning, he greatly encouraged it; built a fine Free School at *Manchester*, and had Intentions of enlarging *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, and of increasing its Revenues: But being denied a Fellowship in the College, which he solicited on the Behalf of a Friend, it occasioned him to change his Mind, and to bestow that Money towards raising *Corpus Christi* College: So that he may be justly esteemed one of its principal Benefactors.

Bishop Oldham's Character, &c.

Notwithstanding all this, the Bishop died under Excommunication, procured by the Abbot of *Tavistock*; so that he remained unburied for a considerable time: But at last an Absolution was procured from *Rome*, and then he was buried in a Chapel of his own Building, and a sumptuous Monument was raised to his Memory by *Henry* the VIIIth.

We left the young King's Mother, *Queen Margaret*, in Possession of the Administration of publick Affairs. *James* the Vth was the 105th King of *Scotland*, and,

Affairs of Scotland.
1515.

tho'

tho' he was very young, the Nobility took care to get him crowned with the usual Ceremony: But *Drummond* observes, "That the Government of a Woman and a Child, over a People ever in Motion, Mutinous, and delighting in Change, could not long subsist."

The first Disorder in the Kingdom, arose from the Queen's marrying the Earl of *Angus*, which was no sooner known, than the *Scotch* were resolved to proceed to the Election of a new Regent, during the King's Minority. Some gave their Voices for the Earl of *Arran*, others proposed the Duke of *Albany*, who was then in *France*.

The King of *England* no sooner heard of it, than he sent Letters to the Lords of *Scotland*, as he had before done to the *French* King, wherein he Remonstrates how dangerous it would be for the State and the young King, if they should make choice of the Duke of *Albany*. But the Lords did not regard *Henry's* Remonstrances, but elected the Duke of *Albany* Regent.

Alexander, Duke of *Albany*, hearing what had passed in *Scotland*, made Preparations to repair thither; tho' he was a good deal uneasy that the King of *England* was so much concerned in the Transactions of *Scotland*, and fomented the Dissentions that had arisen there; and as Uncle of the young King, took upon himself the Title of Protector of *Scotland*; by Vertue whereof his Ambassadors at *Rome* demanded of the Pope the Ecclesiastical Preferments of that Kingdom, which his Holiness was pleased to grant; but as soon as the Duke of *Albany* was arrived he writ, in the young King's Name, sharply complaining of the King of *England's* Encroachments, and the Court of *Rome's* Condescension, and even threatened the Pope in his Letter, that he would not apply to him for the future, upon any Account whatsoever, if this Grievance was not speedily redressed.

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The Duke of *Albany*, tho' of *Scotch* Extrac-tion, was a Stranger to *Scotland*; for this Duke was born in the time of his Father's Banishment, (which was in 1483) and could not even speak the *Scotch* Language. But, as he desired, in the beginning of his Regency, to be informed of the State of the Kingdom, he unhappily applied to *Hepburne*, Bishop of *Murray*, a hot and spenetick Man, who took this Opportunity to be re-venge-d on those he called his Enemies.

The Bishop being Prior of *St. Andrew's*, had been elected Archbishop of that Church in the beginning of the present Reign; but was forced to re-sign the Archbishoprick to *Forman*, Bishop of *Murray*, who was qualified by the Pope's Bull. However, *Forman* would have never ventured to have made use of this Bull, had he not been supported by *Alexander Hume*, a potent Lord, by whose Credit and Authority he was installed at *St. Andrew's*, having resigned the Bishoprick of *Murray* to *Hepburne*, and promised him a certain Pension. *Hepburne* gave the Regent such a Character of *Hume*, that, when he came to Court, he was looked upon with a very ill Eye. *Hume*, being naturally very proud and high spirited, resolved to let the Regent see, no Man should slight him with Impunity, and went over to the Queen Dowager, per-suading her, that the King her Son was in Danger; and advised her to carry him into *England*. The Re-gent, hearing of this Plot, suddenly went to *Sterling* Castle, and secured the King's Person: But to hinder his Enemies from putting an ill Construc-tion on this Matter, he renewed his Oath of Allegiance to the King, and committed the Care of his Education to three Persons of great Credit.

A Difference be-tween the Bishops of Murray and St. Andrew's.

Alexander Hume and his Brother *William*, seeing their Plot was discovered, fled immediately into *England*, and were quickly followed by the Queen and her Spouse, the Earl of *Angus*; whereupon the Regent

sent

sent Ambassadors to *Henry*, to justify his Conduct, and at the same time so artfully treated with the Fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into *Scotland*; but the Queen being big with Child, was forced to stay at *Harbottle* Castle in *Northumberland*, where she was delivered, on the 7th of *October*, of a Daughter, called *Margaret*.* The Earl of *Angus* left his

* This Princess afterwards married *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, Father of *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnley*; who taking to Wife *Mary*, the Daughter of *James* the Vth, had Issue *James* the VIth, the first Monarch of *Great Britain*, whose Daughter *Elizabeth* married *Frederick*, King of *Bohemia*, and had, among other Children, the late Princess *Sophia*, Electress of *Hanover*, and Wife of *Ernest Augustus*, late Elector, &c. and, in the 12th and 13th of the late King *William*, an Act passed to intail the Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Ireland* on this Princess and her Issue, which runs thus:

“ That, in default of Issue of his Majesty and the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark* respectively, the Crown and Regal Government of the Kingdoms of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, shall be, and remain, and continue to the said most excellent Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body being *Protestants*.” And her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, upon her Coming to the Crown, took care to preserve the Protestant Succession, as appears by the Act for ratifying and confirming the Union between her two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, wherein it

was concluded to the following Effect.

“ That the Succession of the Monarchy of *Great Britain*, &c. after her then most sacred Majesty, and in default of Issue of her Majesty, be, and remain, and continue to the said most excellent Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body being *Protestants*, upon whom the Crown of *England* was already settled, by Act of Parliament made in the said 12th and 13th Year of the late King *William*, before recited.”

In pursuance of these Acts of Parliament, upon the Demise of her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, the 1st of *August*, 1714, the Princess *Sophia* being then dead, the *Protestant* Succession took Place, and his late Majesty King *George* the 1st (being then Elector of *Hanover*) ascended the Throne of *Great Britain*, and enjoyed with great Serenity and Peace, these Kingdoms to the time of his Death, on the 11th of *June*, 1727, when his present most excellent Majesty, King *George* the 2d, Son and Heir Apparent of the late King *George* the 1st, likewise ascended the Throne of these noble Kingdoms, and hath governed the same with great Magnanimity, for above fifteen Years.

His Spouse and returned to Scotland; but the Queen staid a Year in England. From the different Distractions that had arisen in the State, thro' the Queen's Flight into England, and the Dissention among the

VOL. II.

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great

His Majesty was born October 30, 1683, and has Issue now living (by the late Most excellent Princess, Queen Caroline) Frederick, Prince of Wales, born January 20, 1706; — Ann, Princess of Orange, born October 22, 1709; — Princess Amelia, born May 30, 1711; — Princess Caroline, born May 30, 1713; — William, Duke of Cumberland, born April 15, 1721; — Princess Mary, born February 22,

1722; — Princess Louisa, born September 7, 1724.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was, on the 27th of April, 1736, married to her Highness, Augusta, Princess of Saxe Gotha, who was born the 19th of November, 1719; and, on this happy Occasion the ingenious Mr Thompson addressed an Ode to his Royal Highness, a few Stanza's of which, we believe, may be acceptable.

*Yet in the Goddess of the Main appears
A gleam of Joy, gay-flushing every Grace,
As she the cordial Voice of Millions bears
Rejoicing, zealous, o'er thy rising Race;
Strait her rekindled Eyes resume their Fire,
The Virtues smile, the Muses tune the Lyre.*

*But more enchanting than the Muses Song
United Britons thy dear Offspring hail,
The City triumphs thro' her glowing Throng;
The Shepherd tells his Transport to the Dale.
The Sons of roughest Toil forget their Pain,
And the glad Sailor cheers the midnight Main.*

*Can ought from fair Augusta's gentle Blood,
And thine, thou Friend of Liberty, be born;
Can ought, save what is lovely, generous, good;
What will at once defend us and adorn?
From thence prophetick Joy new Edward's Eyes,
New Henry's, Anna's, and Eliza's rise.*

*May Fate my fond devoted Days extend
To sing the promis'd Glories of thy Reign!
What tho' by Years depress'd my Muse might bend,
My Heart will teach her still a nobler Strain.*

Since the publishing of this Ode their Royal Highnesses have been blessed with the following illustrious Issue (to wit) Princess Augusta, born July 31, 1737;

— Prince George, born May 24, 1738; — Prince Edward, born March 14, 1739; — Princess Elizabeth, born December 30, 1740.

great Men, *Scotland* was, during this Year, in a very unhappy Situation.

Affairs of Ireland.
A Parliament held
there.

1515.

The Earl of *Kildare* passed into *England* the beginning of this Year, to confer with his Majesty, touching the Parliament that was to be then shortly held, and in his Absence *William Garmanston*, was appointed Deputy. The Earl returned in *February*, and, on the 25th, held a Parliament at *Dublin*, which, by several Prorogations, continued until *Thursday* after *Michaelmas*, 1517.

This Parliament gave the King a Subsidy, and made one good Act.*

On the 3d of *August*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Ormond*,† died in *London*, who had been Ambassador in *France*,
Privy

* That no Man should be compelled by Privy Seal, to answer any Complaint in *England*, until the Accusers enter into a Recognizance in the Chancery in *Ireland*, to pay the Defendant his Costs and Damages, if he be acquitted; which so much abated that vexatious Course of Proceeding, that it is now quite out of Use.

† From this most noble Peer was descended, *Thomas*, Earl of *Ossory*, who was, in King *Charles* the II'd's Time, created Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, and Duke of *Ormond* in *England*; in which Honours and Titles he was succeeded by the late great, tho' unfortunate Duke of *Ormond*. This Nobleman was one of the first of the *English* Nobility that went over to the late King *William*

upon his Landing, who made him one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Captain of the second Troop of Guards. He attended his said Majesty into *Ireland* and *Flanders*, and was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Landau*. Upon the Accession of her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, he was appointed General of the Forces against *Spain*, and, in his Return from thence, he had a large Share in the Action of destroying the *French* Fleet, and Gallies in the Harbour of *Vigo*; he was afterwards sent Lord Lieutenant into *Ireland*, and at last made Captain General of the *English* Forces in *Flanders*, which high Post he held till the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Upon the Coming in of the late King *George* the Ist, he was apprehensive of an Impeachment being

Privy Counsellor in *England*, and had a Seat in the *English* Parliament above the Barons. He was the richest Subject the King had, and left above 40,000 *l.* in Money, besides Jewels, and as much Land in *England* to his two Daughters, as at this Day would bring 30,000 *l. per Annum*: But had no Issue Male to enjoy his *Irish* Estate, which therefore descended to his Kinsman, Sir *Peirce Butler*, with the Title of Earl of *Ormond*.

Charles, Archduke of *Austria*, was now fifteen Years of Age; upon which his Grandfather, *Maximilian*, and his Aunt, *Margaret*, surrendered up the Government of the *Low Countries* into his Hands, which were presently notified to all Christian Princes. The Lady *Margaret* at first had the Charge of educating the young Duke; but at seven Years of Age the Care of his further Education was partly committed to *Adrian Florentius*, a Man of low Extraction, yet had raised himself by his Virtue. His Preceptor could not get him to apply to Learning, because his Inclination was altogether bent upon Arms, which he early imbibed from *William de Croy*, one of his first Governors, who indulged his Humour by causing him frequently to read the Feats thereof in the old Histories of *France*, *Spain*, &c. in their respective Languages.

Some apprehended, on the Death of *Lewis* the XIIth, the new King would have desisted from his Pretensions in *Italy*, and have been contented

Charles of Austria takes upon himself the Government of Flanders.

1515.

Affairs of France, Spain, and Italy.

1515.

N n 2

with

being brought against him in Parliament, when he retired into *France*; and soon after he was attainted by Act of Parliament: Though we are credibly informed, that his Majesty's personal Regard for him was such, that he was determined to pardon him, if he had staid and submitted to the Trial: Whereas

now his Title and Estate is forfeited to the Crown. The Right Honourable *Charles*, Earl of *Arran*, Brother to the said Duke; the Right Honourable *Somerset Hamilton Butler*, Viscount *Iherine*; and the Right Honourable *Thomas Butler*, Lord of *Cahir*, are all descended from this illustrious Family.

with his Kingdom in the Condition he found it ; but they soon found themselves mistaken, for *Francis* having added the Title of Duke of *Milan* to that of King of *France*, he also instantly made great Preparations, in order to enable himself to carry on his intended War, so that the Eyes of *Europe* were again turned towards *Italy* : But before *Francis* put his Design in Execution, as the Offices of *Chancellor* and *Constable* were vacant, he disposed of the First to *Anthony du Prat*, and of the other to *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon* ; and *la Palisse* was honoured with the Staff of Marshal of *France*.

Ferdinand of *Spain* was greatly alarmed at these Transactions, tho' *Francis* offered to renew the Truce that had been made between *France* and *Spain* ; yet *Ferdinand*, in his Conference with the *Swiss* Ambassador, declared, that the only Way to make *France* desist from her Attempts in *Italy*, was to attack the *French* in their own Country ; and therefore was ready to join all his Forces with the *Swiss* for that Purpose. The *Swiss* listened to these Proposals, and readily agreed : The Emperor also promised to carry on the War against the *Venetians* with greater Vigour than he had hitherto done.

Whilst these Schemes were upon the Carpet, *Francis* ordered his Troops to file off towards the *Alps*, and the *Swiss*, resolved to oppose this Expedition, seized the only two Passes thro' which it was judged the *French* could enter the *Milanese* : But *Ferdinand*, instead of keeping his Word with the *Swiss*, after he was assured *Francis* was set out on his Expedition, immediately disbanded his Forces, and left the whole Burthen of defending *Milan* to the *Swiss*. *Francis* made use of this lucky Opportunity, and marched his Army by a Route little thought of and unguarded, and soon came within Sight of *Milan*, which he found possessed by the *Swiss* ; to whom he offered a Sum of Money, if they would deliver up the Place.

Place and return home, which they at first seemed to agree to; but, having received a Supply of 15000 Men, and being instigated by the Cardinal of *Sien*, (the constant Enemy of *France*) they actually attacked *Francis's* Army, who lay encamped at *Marignano*, little expecting such a Visit. However, the *French* engaged the *Swiss*, and defeated them, who lost above 10,000 Men. Here *Francis* commanded his Army in Person, having under him *Lautrec*, now become a very experienced General, and at this Battle gained great Reputation; the King too acted in this Engagement like an experienced Captain, whose Resolution was far greater than the Danger he was exposed to. The new Constable of *France* and the famous *Peter Navarro* were also in this Engagement and behaved bravely; the latter had entered into the *French* Service, having left the *Spaniards*, because, after he was taken at the Battle of *Ravenna*, they let him lie a long time in Prison for want of paying his Ransom.

The French beat the Swiss.

This Victory was of exceeding Service to *Francis*, for the Residue of the penniless *Swiss* made the best of their way home, the City of *Milan* capitulated, and the *French* King soon got Possession of the Dutchy.

Whilst the *French* were thus busied, the indolent Emperor got to *Inspruck*, seated at ease, without troubling his Head either for or against the *Swiss*; and old King *Ferdinand* only looked on, not giving the *Swiss* any sort of Assistance, each Party seeming to have forgot, that they had so much as promised to do.

Maximilian Sforza, Duke of *Milan*, who had shut himself up in his Castle, finding his Case desperate, surrendered it by Capitulation. The Duke was no sooner in the *French* King's Hands, than he was sent into *France*, where he was allowed a Pension for Life; such was the Fate of the Son of *Ludovic the Moor*.

His

*The King of France's
publick Entry into
Milan.*

His Majesty entered *Milan* in great State, environed by the greatest part of his *Cavalry*, and attended by four of the chiefeft Senators of *Venice*, among whom was *Andrew Gritti*. Success did not attend *Francis* the 1st. at *Milan* only; for, whilst he was thus employed, *Ottavian Fregosa* brought the *Genoese* under his Dominion, and, instead of *Doge*, stiled himself *Governor for the King*.

As soon as *Francis* had accomplished his Enterprizes, the *Venetian Army*, under the Command of *Alviano*, their Captain General proposed to besiege *Brescia*; but, just as he was going to put his Project in Execution, he was seized with a Fever, and constrained to leave his Army, and in the Month of *October* died, before he was 60 Years of Age. His Death was a great Concern to the People of *Venice*, and much more to the Soldiers, who kept his Body 25 Days, carrying it about as they marched with great Solemnity, and then it was brought to *Venice*, and, by a publick Decree, was honourably buried in *St. Stephen's Church*, where his Tomb is at this Day to be seen: And, as he had esteemed the Service of his Country above Riches, he left his Widow and Children very poor; but that was made up to them by Order of the Senate, who provided for them in a generous Manner.

*Brescia taken by
the Venetians.*

After *Alviano's* Death, *George Bme*, the Proveditor, took upon himself the Command of the Army, which with the Assistance of the *French* at last took *Brescia*, and the *Venetians* were so well satisfied with the Services they had met with from *Lautrea*, that they made him several handsome Presents, his Master at the same time presenting him with the Order of *St. Michael*.

Pope *Leo*, being in hopes *Francis* would never have been able to have entered *Italy*, joined in the League

League against him, but so privately that *Francis* knew nothing of it till he came to *Verceil*. In the mean time the Pope was under great Perplexities, for he had sent an Army into *Lombardy*, with a Design to support the Duke of *Milan*: But, when he heard *Francis* had surmounted all Difficulties, he sent Orders to *Lorenzo de Medici*, who commanded his Army, not to commit Hostilities against the *French*, and to let the King know, that his Army was there only to guard *Parma* and *Placentia*; for, as the Fate of *Milan* was not then decided, he did not dare to make too many Advances, lest the Allies might take Umbrage, who would have it in their Power to be revenged of him, if the *French* had been vanquished.

Tho' *Leo's* Behaviour to *Francis* was such, that he deserved no Favour from him, he obtained, among other Advantages, the Abolition of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which his Predecessors had hitherto in vain demanded, and in return, the Pope agreed to an Interview with the King of *France* at *Bologna*.

The Pope entered that City the 8th of December, and the King made his Entry two Days after. He was received, on the Confines of the Country of *Reggia*, by the Cardinals *Fiesque* and *Medici*, Legates Apostolick, who introduced him, according to the Manner of Kings, into the Pope's Presence, in the publick Consistory, where his Majesty offered his Obedience to the holy See, his great Chancellor, in a Speech, delivering his Master's Sentiments, which were extremely well received by his Holiness. The Audience being over, they spent three Days together in one Palace, shewing to each other manifest Tokens of the strongest Amity, and confirmed, by repeated Promises, the Obligations and Contracts before debated, besides consulting on many Things touching the Kingdom of *Naples*, the King having now Thoughts of attacking it; which Enterprize the Pope promised to favour at a seasonable Time.

Interview between Leo and Francis.

Time. The King next solicited the Restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio*, to the Duke of *Ferrara*, which *Leo* also promised to grant, upon being paid a certain Sum of Money. The Pope again promised to give the King Power to levy the tenth Part of the Church-Revenues of *France*, for the Maintenance of his Army; and consented, that *Francis* should have the Nomination of Benefices, which always had appertained to Colleges and Chapters; a Matter that fell out much to the Profit and Purpose of the King of *France*, who had by that Means the Disposal of the Benefices, but the Annates of the *French* Churches they agreed should be paid according to the true Value; but when his Holiness's Deputies sought to proceed against those that concealed it, they could find no Proofs, so that the Pope's Designs were defeated in that Respect. The King on his Part promised, not to take into his Protection any of the Cities of *Tuscany*, yet afterwards he required to have Liberty to protect the People of *Lucca*, (who had offered him 25,000 Ducats) saying, "He was bound to that Protection by the Obligation of his Predecessor:" but the Pope refused to agree to it; tho' he promised not to molest them in any sort. Lastly, they agreed to send Fryar *Giles*, General of the *Augustines*, and an excellent Preacher, to the Emperor, in the Pope's Name, to persuade him to render *Verona*, &c. to the *Venetians*, for an Equivalent in Money. The Pope on taking Leave, at the King's Request, created *Adrian de Boisse* Cardinal, who was Brother to the Great-master of *France*, and one in the highest Esteem with the King.

After these Matters were settled which were not reduced into Writing, except the Articles for Nomination of Benefices, &c. the King departed from the Pope well satisfied with the Reception he had met with, thinking now he should have a perpetual Friend of him. His Holiness too shewed as much outward Satisfaction at this Interview; but in his Mind nourished other Impressions,

sions, for that two Matters were very grievous to him ; the one, that the Dutchy of *Milan* should remain in the *French* King's Hands ; the other, that the Duke of *Ferrara* should be re-invested in *Modena* and *Reggio* ; and indeed all these Promises vanished in Air : For, after *Leo* had been at *Florence* about a Month, the Duke of *Ferrara* declared, the Money was ready to be paid on his being let into Possession, and the Agreement was soon after put into Writing ; but the Pope found Means to evade his Promise.

In the mean time, the King returned to *Milan*, dismissed his Army, except 700 Lances, 6000 Lances-knights, and 4000 *French* Voluntiers, whom he left to guard the City, and then the King set out for *France*, (about the End of *December*) leaving behind him, as his Lieutenant, *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, judging he had left his Affairs in *Italy* in a good State, both on Account of the Alliance newly contracted with the Pope, and because as he had defeated the *Swiss*, he found Means to settle the Differences subsisting between them ; “ though, as *Guicciardin* says, “ contrary to the Persuasions of the King of Eng- “ land, who would have had the *Swiss* have prosecuted “ the War against *France*.” Yet they even entered into an Alliance with *France*, and bound themselves to furnish for the King's Service, and in his Pay, in and out of *Italy*, such Numbers of Footmen, as he should require, and that under their Name and Publick Ensigns, except against the Pope, the Empire and the Emperor. On the other hand, the King confirmed to them their antient Pensions, with a Promise to pay them, within a certain Time, the 600,000 Ducats, agreed upon at *Dijon*, together with 300,000 more, on their delivering up to him the Villages and Valleys appertaining to his Dutchy of *Milan* ; but the five Cantons that possessed those Places refused to ratify the Treaty. Whereupon the King undertook to

France enters into an alliance with the Swiss.

pay the other eight Cantons that Proportion of the Money that appertained to them; but they expressly excepted against their Undertaking to assist the *French*, in their Attempt to dispossess the five Cantons of what they enjoyed.

Further Affairs of England,
1515.

When *Henry* the VIIIth heard the Success that had attended *Francis* this Campaign, he expressed himself very uneasy thereat, lest he should become too powerful; also at his entertaining in his Army *Richard de la Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had been lately beheaded; this Prince now pretending, as his Brother was cut off, to have a Right to the Crown. For these Reasons *Henry* began to look about him, and to prepare against the worst.

The *Spanish* Ambassador, who had spent his Time in *London* for some Months but heavily, was on this Occasion caressed by Archbishop *Wolsey*; which News was joyfully received by *Ferdinand*: And the Emperor, hearing of *Henry's* Dispositions to oppose the Progress of the *French* in *Italy*, begun also to dread the too great Power of *France* in that Country; wherefore he sent an Ambassador to *England* with Instructions, to agree to such Schemes as the King and the *Spanish* Ambassador should settle.

The King holds a Council.

Henry on this summoned an extraordinary Council, at which the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Durham*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* assisted. *Wolsey* opened the Debate, and, in a pathetic Speech, laid before them, *First*, "The Steps taken by the *French* in *Italy*, and shewed how *Francis* had broke the last Treaty, by favouring *Richard de la Pole*. *Secondly*, in assisting the *Scotch*, who opposed the King's Sister, in withholding several Jewels and Goods belonging to *Queen Mary*; which several Acts, said he, ought to be resented in some Measure, and he knew no better Way to do it, than

“ to assist those Princes who were at Variance with
 “ *France.*” The Bishop of *Durham*, and others, were
 of the same Judgment; but the Dukes of *Norfolk*
 and *Suffolk* were of the contrary Opinion; and encour-
 aged the King to turn his Arms, in case he was for
 War, to the Conquest of *Scotland*. Then the King
 was pleased to declare his Sentiments, and said, “ he
 “ did not think it adviseable to break with *Francis*;
 “ yet he would act so as to stop his further Progress
 “ in *Italy*.

Upon the breaking up of the Coun-
 cil, proper Instructions were sent to Sir
Richard Wingfield, the King’s Ambassa-
 dor, to demand Redress from the *French*
 King, of the several Matters complained of at the
 Council Board; which the Ambassador accordingly did.

*New Instructions
 sent to our Am-
 bassador in
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King *Francis* gave him a very favourable Answer,
 promising all due Satisfaction should be given to his
 Majesty of *England*.

Whilst our Ambassador was thus employed in
France, *Francisco Sforza*, Brother to *Maximilian*, the
 late Duke of *Milan*, applied to *Henry*, to assist him in
 the Recovering of *Milan*, in regard his Brother was
 shut up a Prisoner in *France*. The
 King listened to this Prince’s Request,
 and entered into a Treaty with him;
 wherein it was stipulated, “ That, in

*Henry enters into
 a Treaty with
 Francisco Sforza.*

“ case he recovered the Dutchy, he should pay to
 “ *England* a yearly Tribute, in Consideration of the
 “ Supply that *Henry* was to furnish him with for that
 “ End; and that *Wolsey*, for his Part, should have
 “ out of it 10,000 Ducats yearly,” *Polidor* says
 18,000: “ But, upon as good Authority, (says Dr.
 “ *Fiddes*) and with the same Ingenuity, he has ad-
 “ vanced several other Things, whereby he might
 “ transmit the Cardinal’s Name under a more disad-
 “ vantageous Character, and gratify his Resentment
 “ against him. In the Original Contract, by which

and the other eight Cantons that Proportion of the Money that appertained to them; but they expressly excepted against their Undertaking to assist the *French*, in their Attempt to dispossess the five Cantons of what they enjoyed.

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When *Henry* the VIIIth heard the Success that had attended *Francis* this Campaign, he expressed himself very uneasy thereat, lest he should become too powerful; also at his entertaining in his Army *Achilles de Foix*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had been lately beheaded; this Prince now pretending, as his Brother was cut off, to have a Right to the Crown. For these Reasons *Henry* began to look about him, and to prepare against the worst.

The *Spanish* Ambassador, who had spent his Time in *London* for some Months but heavily, was on this occasion recalled by Archbishop *Wolsey*, which News was specially received by *Ferdinand*: And the Emperor, hearing of *Henry*'s Dispositions to oppose the Progress of the *French* in *Italy*, began also to dread the too great Power of *France* in that Country; whereupon he sent an Ambassador to *England* with Propositions to agree to such Schemes as the King and the *Spanish* Ambassador should devise.

Henry on this summoned an extraordinary Council, at which the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Gloucester*, the Dukes of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord of *Buckingham* were present, and in a private manner they considered the Affairs, and in a public manner they declared their Sentiments. The Steps taken by *Henry* in this Affair, and indeed how *Francis* was affected by the Council, are mentioned in the next Chapter, where the Affairs, who were present at this Council, and the Proceedings there, are more fully related.

to assist those Princes who were at Variance with France." The Bishop of *Durham*, and others, were of the same Judgment; but the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were of the contrary Opinion, and encouraged the King to turn his Arms, in case he was forced, to the Conquest of *Scotland*. Then the King was pleased to declare his Sentiments, and said, "he did not think it advisable to break with *Francis*, yet he would act so as to stop his further Progress in *Italy*."

Upon the breaking up of the Council, proper Instructions were sent to Sir *Richard Walsingham*, the King's Ambassador, to demand Redress from the *French* King, of the several Matters complained of at the Council Board; which the Ambassador accordingly did. King *Francis* gave him a very favourable Answer, promising all due Satisfaction should be given to his Majesty of *England*.

New Instructions sent to our Ambassador in France.

Whilst our Ambassador was thus employed in *France*, *Francis's* Son, Brother to *Maximilian*, the late Duke of *Milan*, applied to *Henry*, to assist him in the Recovering of *Milan*, in regard his Brother was shut up a Prisoner in *France*. The King listened to this Prince's Request, and entered into a Treaty with him; wherein it was stipulated, "That, in case he recovered the *Duchy*, he should pay to *England* a yearly Tribute, in Consideration of the Supply that *Henry* was to furnish him with for that End; and that *Wolsey*, for his Part, should have out of it 10,000 *Liars* yearly." *Francis* gave 18,000: "But, upon a good Authority, *Henry* advanced several other Things, whereby he increased the Cardinal's Name under a disadvantageous Character, and gratified his against him. In the Original Com-

Henry entered into a Treaty with Francis's Son.

“ *Michael Abbatis* obligeth himself to pay a certain
 “ Sum in the Name of his Master ; the Sum is spe-
 “ cified to be 10,000 Ducats. And this Contract being
 “ preserved and repositied, among other Transactions,
 “ in *Bibl. Cott. Vitell. L. 2. Bib. 11.* it is highly pro-
 “ bable, *Wolsey* had the King’s Authority for insisting
 “ on this Condition for himself.”

The prudent Steps that the Court of *England* had thus taken to provide against the growing Power of *France*, was so disagreeable to the sage *Rapin*, that he breaks out, upon his Majesty and his Prime Minister, as follows :

“ Though *Henry* had not been able intirely to avoid
 “ the Snares laid by the Pope, the Emperor, and the
 “ King of *Spain*, he had happily got clear ; but with a
 “ firm Resolution, never more to be thus over-reached.
 “ His affecting not to mention them in his Treaty
 “ with *France* plainly shewed, he did not much value
 “ their Friendship ; but he was not so fortunate as to
 “ persist in this Resolution, since it was his own Fault,
 “ that he engaged in a fresh War with *France*, not so
 “ much for his own as the Interest of others. His
 “ Change may be ascribed to three several Causes :
 “ The *first* his Jealousy of the glorious Success of
 “ *Francis’s* Arms in *Italy* : The *second*, to prevent
 “ the growing Power of that Neighbour : The *third*
 “ and principal, *Wolsey*, his Favourite’s Interest, who,
 “ thinking to have Reason to complain of the King
 “ of *France*, would be revenged. The two first need
 “ no further Explanation : ’Tis well known that
 “ Princes are subject to Passions like other Men, and
 “ that Jealousy may induce them to run counter to their
 “ Interest : ’Tis known likewise, that Policy is as it
 “ were the Hinge on which *all*, or *almost all*, their
 “ Actions turn. But, on this Occasion, *Henry* pro-
 “ ceeded on a very wrong Policy, since nothing was
 “ more capable of securing the Peace of *England*, than
 “ the King of *France’s* Acquisitions in *Italy*. The
 “ *third*

“ *third Cause* requires a more particular Explanation.

“ *Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, was Prime Minister and Chief Favourite; but this does not fully express the Thing: It must be added, that he so absolutely governed the King, that he turned him which Way he pleased**; but he *managed so artfully*, that the King always *fancied* he took his own Course, when he only followed the *Suggestions of his Minister. Wolsey had great Talents for a Person of his Birth*†; but he had also *great Failings*‡. He was excessively *revengeful, greedy of Possessions and Honours, and intolerably proud*§. He

no

* Then *Wolsey absolutely made a Weather-cock of his royal Master. Very kind of Monf. Rapin!*

† *Rapin* reflects on *Wolsey* for his low *Birth*, when it is well known, that some of the greatest Men, *Europe* has produced, have not been able to boast of higher Originals than this Prelate, many of which, both among the Living and Dead, we could here name. And whether *Birth*, or, to speak more strictly, the *Station of a Man's Parents*, can affect his *Talents*, or *Genius*, we leave to Naturalists and Metaphysicians to determine.

‡ Who are without?

§ *Revengeful, greedy of Possessions, intolerably proud*: These, sure, are more than *Failings*. But he gives us no Authority to support this Charge; and, tho' he couples *Bishop Fox* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, as having received many *Mortifications* from *Wolsey*, he has not shewn one Instance of it.

On the contrary, in p. 704 of his History, Vol. 1st, which we have before cited, he relates a Quarrel between these two old Ministers, in respect to the King's spending his Money; and, tho' he gives us no Account of their Reconciliation, he makes them both retire together in Disgust: But it manifestly appears, as we shall speedily shew, that *Bishop Fox* and the Duke of *Norfolk* were, in the Month of *November* this Year, at the grand Entertainment made by *Wolsey*, when he was preferred to the Dignity of a Cardinal; as was also the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Duke of *Suffolk*. Therefore, if they had been so disgusted with *Wolsey*, as *Rapin* would have it, who can believe that either of these great Men would have partaken of his Entertainments? As to the Charge, that the rest of the Privy-Council were all *Wolsey's* Favourites, he brings nothing more to prove that, than he has for the rest, his *Ipse dixit*. But whatever was the Motive to induce *Rapin* to treat

Wolfe

“ no sooner saw himself fixed in his Master’s Favour, but he *sought* Means to remove from Court all those that could give him any *Jealousy*, by the King’s Esteem for them. *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who had been most in Favour, received so many *Mortifications* from this imperious Prelate, that at length they quitted the Court, not to be exposed to his Insults. *Fox* withdrew to his Diocese the Beginning of this Year, the two Dukes quickly followed; and *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, retired also at the End of the same Year. These old Ministers being removed, *Wolsey* became still more absolute over the King, who had him only* to advise with in his most important Affairs; the rest of the Privy-Council were all the Favourite’s Creatures.

“ The *Historians* † unanimously agree, that *Wolsey’s* Interest was the sole Rule of the Councils he gave the King.

Wolsey in so unbecoming a Manner; we are well assured, that the generous and honest Part of Mankind will always pay Respect to Men of conspicuous Parts and Merit, one of which he certainly was as his very Enemies have allowed. In short, the Reader will not be so much surprized at Monsieur *Rapin’s* Treatment of *Wolsey*, when he considers, that his whole History is filled with scarce any thing but Reflections on the *English* Nation, which makes us much admire our Countrymen should be so fond of it.

His Abuse too of the Royal Family of the *Stuarts* is so flagrant, that we make no Doubt but some able Pen will, one time or other, fully execute so noble a Task as that of rescuing their

abused Characters out of the Hands of so malicious and partial a Writer; and which we are the more encouraged to hope, when we call to mind, that his late Majesty, King *George* the 1st, one of the Royal Descendants from that illustrious Family; out of his princely Generosity, founded, in the two Universities, Professors, both for the encouraging the Study and Writing of *Modern Languages* and History.

* This we look on to be such an Improbability as any Reader may see through.

† This Assertion we allow to be true, (but not in the Manner Monsieur asserts) because it was his Interest to advise the King for his

“ King. As this Interest answered his reigning Passions, *Revenge, Greediness, Ambition, and Pride,* the Reader must not be surprized, when he sees him hereafter inducing the King to make so many false Steps.” *

But, to return, the Pope was now strongly solicited by several Princes, to make Archbishop *Wolsey*, the King's Prime Minister, a Cardinal; and Monsieur *Rapin* himself tells us, “ That *Wolsey* had even employed to solicit in his Name Cardinal *Hadrian*; but *Hadrian*, instead of serving him as he had promised, had done him ill Offices. *Wolsey*, being informed of it, was so incensed, that, on some slight Pretence, he committed *Polidor* (his Deputy in *England*) to the *Tower*.† Then he caused the King to write with his own Hand to the Pope, to desire him to appoint another Collector in *Hadrian*'s room. The King's Letter was so strong and passionate, that the Pope thought fit to comply with his Request. However, in his Brief of Advice, he told “ the

his Good, which evidently appeared from his Actions; and we have, besides others, even so great an Authority as Bishop *Burnet*, to support it, who affirms, in his *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 8. That *Wolsey* never engaged the King, his Master, in any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage.

* How, Monsieur! was it a false Step for King *Henry* to endeavour to stop *Francis* (his grand Monarch!) from growing too powerful, getting too firm a Footing in *Italy*? which, if he had done, he might of consequence have given Laws to the Princes of that Country: And, if that had proved the Case, how long would it have been, before he would

have turned his Arms towards making Conquests in the *Low Countries*, as his Successors afterwards did? which was the Cause of the longest and bloodiest War ever carried on in *Europe*, and in which *England* was engaged from the beginning to the end, at an infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure both by Sea and Land.

† Monsieur *Rapin* is mistaken: It was the King, as appears by the Pope's Letter, that committed him; and the real Cause was, *Polidor* had been very busy in misrepresenting, by Letters, both the King and his Minister's Actions, in order to influence the Pope not to make *Wolsey* a Cardinal.

“ the King he knew very well his Anger against *Hadrian*
 “ was instilled into him by *Wolsey*.”

The Commitment of the Pope's Deputy Collector to the *Tower* made a great Noise at *Rome*, and (at the Instigation of Cardinal *Hadrian*) at length the Pope, and Cardinal *Julius de Medici* interceded for him to the King, by Letters of *Aug. 30*, and *Sept. 3*. The Letter from the Pope is in a high Strain, in which his Holiness takes Notice, “ That, in former Letters to his Majesty, he recommended his beloved Son “ *Polidor Virgil*, Deputy Collector of the Apostolical “ See in *England*, who had been put into Gaol by his “ Orders, where he had been detained for several Months “ past; Intimating that he had exhorted him, as he “ revered the holy See, &c. to set him at Liberty.

“ And as he had learnt nothing as to what had been “ done by him in that Affair, which was the cause of his “ renewing his Request to his Majesty, whereby he again “ and again earnestly desired the same from the King; “ likewise, that he would order whatever was taken from “ *Polidor* to be restored to him in his House; concluding “ his Letter with a high Character of Cardinal *Hadrian*, “ and praying the King not to suffer him to write again on this Subject.

That from the Cardinal was to the following Effect, “ That, if he had not known with what Expedition the “ most Reverend Lord Cardinal *Hadrian* had acted in “ the Collector's Cause, in order to give his Majesty entire Satisfaction, he should perhaps have wrote with far “ less Confidence, than he then did, in Favour of *Polidor* “ *Virgil*, his Servant, of whose Confinement he had “ heard with Pain; and as the Cardinal was removed, “ and Signior *Andrew* had taken Possession of the Collectorship, he hoped and earnestly prayed, that his “ Majesty would set him at Liberty, &c.”

Upon the Receipt of these Letters, as this was the time that strong Instances were making to the Pope to grant *Wolsey* a Cardinal's Hat, his Majesty did not think

think proper to refuse the Pope what he desired, and thereupon *Polidor* was released out of the *Tower*, after he had been confined near twelve Months; but from this time we find no more of him as the Pope's Deputy Collector; so that afterwards he employed his leisure Hours in writing the History of *England* before-mentioned, and therein he took occasion to collect all the Reflections he could possibly get together, whether true or false, in order to revenge himself upon *Wolsey*, from a Supposition that he was the Author of his Imprisonment. But it will appear by and by, that Cardinal *Hadrian* was a most wicked Man; that neither the Pope, nor Cardinal *Medici* had any great Cause to solicit on his Behalf; and that Cardinal *Baynbridge* was not out in his Conjecture touching *Hadrian*.

And as to *Polidor Virgil*, notwithstanding Monsieur *Rapin* admits, that he was a *partial Historian* in respect to the Cardinal, yet he generally makes him his Authority, where he is the most intent in blackening *Wolsey's* Memory.

Though, for a good while, Archbishop *Wolsey* met with Opposition and Disappointment, in his Solicitations to obtain a Cardinal's Hat, he was at length honoured with the Purple, by the Title of Cardinal of St. *Cicile* beyond the *Tyber*,* through the Means

VOL. II.

P p

of

* As *Wolsey* was now made Cardinal, let us make some Enquiry into the Dignity of that Order in the *Romish* Church. Pope *Nicholas* the II^d, about the Year 1066, brought the Deacons and Cardinals into great Estimation; and, being made the second established Electors of the Pope, they grew into greater Estimation. *Innocent* the IVth raised them yet higher about the Year 1244, giving them Leave to ride in their Foot-cloaths, and to wear the red Hat; to the End that, as they excelled other Men

in their Dress and Ornament, it might be expected they should excel all others in their good Behaviour and *Virtue*. How far they have generally answered this Expectation we shall leave to the Inquiry of the Curious. Those who have painted St. *Ambrose* with a Cardinal's Hat were guilty of a mere Mockery, for in his Days there were not any. A Cardinal even at this time is in the highest Degree next the Pope they accompany and counsel him in all Matters of Importance.

of his powerful Friends, who never ceased their Applications for him, till they had obtained what was desired.

*Archbishop Wolsey
made a Cardinal.*

The Pope sent the Hat the beginning of Nov. 1515. When the Messenger landed in *England* he was met by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Rochester* at *Blackbeath*, and was received by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Essex*, and many other Gentlemen of great Honour, and so conducted thro' *London*, being attended in *Cheapside* by Sir *William Butler*, Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the respective Companies in their Stands during the Procession. At *Westminster Abbey* eight Abbots, in their proper Habits, honourably received the *Hat*, and conveyed it to the high Altar, whereon it was set.

The 18th of Nov. being *Sunday*, the Cardinal, accompanied by the prime Nobility and Gentry, repaired to *Westminster Abbey*, and, kneeling before the high Altar with his Hood over his Face, whilst the Benediction and Prayers, concerning the high Creation of a Cardinal, were read to him, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* placed the Hat on his Head, which being done, the Cardinal, with his noble Train, returned to his Palace at *Charing-cross*, (now called *Whitehall*) where a sumptuous Entertainment was provided; at which were present the King, the Queen, the Queen of *Scotland*, the *French Queen*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Durham*, and *Rochester*; several mitred Abbots, Priors, &c. the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with many others of the first Degrees from Abroad, as well as of *England*; besides Sir *John Fincaux*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*,* and the other Judges and Serjeants at Law.

Arch-

* Sir *John Fincaux*, who was this Occasion, was extremely intimate with him, advised with
one of the Cardinal's Guests on his

Archbishop *Wolsey* was not long promoted to the Purple before he was made Lord High Chancellor of *England*, upon *Warham's* resigning the Great Seal, which was delivered, by his Majesty to the Cardinal, Dec. 22.

Cardinal Wolsey made Lord High Chancellor.

Rapin says, "*Wolsey* having obtained a Cardinal's Cap, was transported with Joy, when he received the News of it, by an Express sent by the King of *France*; but, tho' he was highly obliged to that Monarch, this Favour begat in his Breast much less Gratitude,† than the Injury, he imagined to have received in the Affair of *Tournay*, had caused

P p 2

Resent-

his Eminence on several Affairs of Importance, and gained so much Reputation in his Profession, that he was esteemed one of the greatest Judges of the Age he lived in. He was born at *Swinfield*, in the County of *Kent*, and educated in *Oxford*; from thence, he came to study the Law in the *Middle-Temple*, commenced Council at 28 Years of Age, and acted as such the like Number of Years before he was made Chief Justice, and continued 28 Years in that high Office; so that he was 84 Years of Age when he died. He was wont to tell his Friends, "That a Man who enters the World must be industrious, but not affected in disclosing his Abilities. The best way (says he) is to observe an equal Gradation, for the slowest Steps to Greatness are the most secure; whereas swift Rises are often attended with precipitate Falls. It is a just Observation, that that which is soonest gained is soonest lost. Wealth is got by Industry, and the best way to make it durable is by Charity." In which

this Judge was a great Example, not only in relieving those of his own Profession, but others; which universal Benevolence Length of Time hath not worn out. Sir *John's* Ancestors were not so obscure, as he was illustrious for his Industry, Piety, and Virtue. His Device, upon the Rings he gave away when made a Serjeant at Law, was, "*Sue quisque Fortunæ sabet.*" "Every Man is the Builder of his own Fortune." Sir *John* had another Saying, *Twenty Years I. lived by my Industry, twenty by my Reputation, and ten by Favour.* We are fully convinced that the present Right Hon. Sir *William Lee*, Knt. may claim a great Share of his renowned Predecessor's Character.

† There could be no Ingratitude yet committed by *Wolsey*, the Obligation lying on *Francis's* side, for having endeavoured to deprive him of his Revenues of *Tournay*; and, we doubt not, *Francis*, among other Princes, by this time, thought it his Interest to ingratiate himself with *Wolsey*.

“*Repentment*. He therefore, in order to be re-
 “*venge*d, endeavoured to set the King, his Master,
 “at Variance with *Francis*, and caused him to enter
 “into a new League against *France*. Herein he sa-
 “tisfied three of his predominant Passions ; his *Pride*,
 “in letting *Europe* see that Sovereigns themselves of-
 “fended him not with Impunity ; his *Revenge*, in
 “creating *Francis* great Troubles ; * and his *own*
 “*Interest*, in securing the Administration of the Bi-
 “shoprick of *Tournay*.” And further says, “*Whilst*
 “the *English* were endeavouring to screen themselves
 “from the Oppressions of the Court of *Rome*, they
 “beheld one rising in their own Body, like a *new*
 “*Pope*, whom they foresaw would be more difficult
 “to resist than him at *Rome*, because he was support-
 “ed by the King ; I mean *Wolsey*. Since that Pre-
 “late was promoted to the *Cardinalate*, he grew more
 “*vain, proud, and imperious* than ever. He never
 “stirred without a Prince’s Retinue, always attended
 “by a Crowd of Domesticks, and causing the Cardi-
 “nal’s Hat to be carried before him like a sort of
 “Trophy, and placed on the Altar when he went
 “to the King’s Chapel. He was the first Clergy-
 “man in *England* that wore *Silk in his Vestments*, and
 “used *Gold in his Saddles*.† In a Word, he *devised*
 “all sorts of Ways to distinguish himself ; every
 “one took such an Offence at his *Pride*, that it was
 “*incessantly* talked of with Indignation ; but no Man
 “durst open his Mouth before the King, since the
 “old Bishop of *Winchester*, for only glancing upon
 “it,

* All the *Revenge* was this, advising his Master to enter into proper Alliances against *France*, in order to defeat a Design, that might have raised a Rebellion in *England*, in Favour of *Richard de la Pole*, as before hinted ; which was so far from being a *Vice*, that it was a manifest *Ver-*

tue, in not sacrificing the real Interest of his Country for *French* Favours, as too many have been guilty of.

† Great Instances, truly, of all that *Vanity, Pride, and Imperiousness*, Monsieur is pleased to load the Cardinal with.

“ it, was so ill received, that shortly after he withdrew to his Diocese.* The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was no less offended than the rest, to see the Archbishop of *York* affect thus so great a Distinction:† But what gave him most Offence, was to see the Cross of *York* carried before the Cardinal, tho’ he was in the Province of *Canterbury*. We have spoken elsewhere of this Contest between the two Archbishops, which, after having caused violent Quarrels, could not be decided, but by the King’s express Commands to the Archbishops of *York*, not to have the Cross carried before them in the other Province: But *Wolsey* who thought himself much above his Predecessors, prepared to revive the Contests, in contempt of these Prohibitions. *Warham*, who was of a peaceable Temper, easily perceived, that, tho’ he should attempt to hinder it, he should not succeed, because *Wolsey* had an *absolute Sway* over the King; so, not to have this Object before his Eyes, he desired the King’s Leave to resign the Chancellorship, and retire to his Palace. His Request was immediately granted, and the same Day the King gave the Seals to Cardinal *Wolsey*. In all Appearance he had created so many *Mortifications* only to oblige him to quit his Office, with which he desired to be invested himself. To support the Splendor of his Dignity, with more State than any other before him, the King loaded him every Day with fresh Favours; Prebends, Wardships, and the like, which continually encreased his Revenue. Besides
“ the

* We have so. 268, given the true Reason that induced the Bishop of *Winchester* to retire.

† *Wolsey* affected no such State as Archbishop of *York*, but as Lord High Chancellor and Cardinal: And we apprehend *Rapin*

forgets Archbishop *Warham*’s pompous *Instalment*, (which we have related in Vol. I. p. 229. &c.) when he so much condemns the Cardinal for his Grander. What is it a virulent Writer will not say of the Party he does not like?

“ the Archbishoprick of *York*, and the Chancellorship, he had in Farm, upon easy Terms, the Bishopricks of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Hereford*; but this was not sufficient to satisfy him.”*

Now to say somewhat of the Rise of this high Office, and of the other great Officers who preside in the Court of Chancery, we shall pass over the Etymology of the Word *Chancellor*, and observe, that both our *British* and *Saxon* Kings had their Chancellors; particularly King *Alfred* caused the Nobles of his Realm to meet at three great Festivals, *Easter*, *Whitsunside*, and *Christmas*, who assembled in Court, from whence it was called *Court de more*; and from this *Saxon* Court, in Process of Time, sprung the three Courts of *Chancery*, *King's-bench*, and *Common Pleas*.†

The antient Manner of administering Justice was by Judges appointed by the King, as they now are, and these Judges followed the King's Court wherever it moved, till, the Inconvenience becoming very notorious, the Courts were settled to a certain Place. The Court, where the King is always supposed to be present in Person, is stiled the *King's-bench*, yet there the King cannot, by Law, give Judgment, (tho' several of our Kings have actually sat there) that being reserved to his Chief Justice.

In many Cases the *Common Law* fell short of doing strictly right; and in some, tho' adjudged right, yet it was with such Severity, as rendered it a kind of Injustice. To remedy these Evils the People had recourse to the King, who, upon due Hearing of the Cause with all its Circumstances, would grant such Relief as should appear equitable. Upon these Suits our Kings were wont to consult their first Chaplains, who were likewise their *Chancellors*, and thus took
Cog-

* We have no more than tell us what more he coveted of *Monf. Rapin's Say-so*, that he obtained.
 coveted these; nor does he yet

† See *Gurdon's History of the High Court of Parliament*.

Cognizance of Matters of Equity, and thence were stiled, as they still are, *Keepers of the King's Conscience* in the high Court of *Chancery*.

Hence, as Business increased, many Officers were appointed under him, who were also the King's Chaplains, thence stiled *Clerks*, now *Masters in Chancery*; and, for the better providing for these judicial Officers, the Chancellor had the Presentation to all the Benefices in the King's Gift, under the Value of twenty Marks *per Annum*.

In Time, when the Court was put upon a better Regulation, the Chancellor came to have two Courts, one of *Common Law*, for the Writs returnable in other Courts, issued originally from the Chancery, as is visible from the Proceedings of the *Common Pleas* at this Day; the other of Equity by *English Bill* and Answer. Concerning the Antiquity of this Court there have been many Disputes: But it's generally allowed, that the *Clergy* at first were the principal Suitors in it.

After the Reign of *Henry the IVth* the Laity begun to relish the *Chancery*, because then they had as much Need of its Assistance as the Clergy; insomuch that the Chancery was confirmed a Court of Equity by Acts of Parliament in *Henry the VIth's* Time,* when the best Authorities seem to fix it as a regular Court.

But, from the Reign of *Henry the IVth*, there followed a Series of unquiet and dangerous Times, thro' the Contests, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, for the Crown; and these Disorders obliged many to settle their Estates *in Trust* and, on the frequent Breaches of these Settlements, Numbers had Recourse to *Chancery* as a Court of *Equity*, where, upon due Application, they were sure of Remedy: So that, from that Period, the Reputation of this Court insensibly extended itself.

The Chancellor is a Lord by his Office, and is reputed the second Person in the Realm next the King; and,

* 15, 31, 33 Hen. VI.

and, by the Stat. 31 *Hen. VIII.* the Lord Chancellor hath the Precedency of all other great Officers of the Kingdom, and is of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council. It belongs to the Chancellor, *Ratione Officii*, to pronounce the Cause of Summons at the Beginning of the Parliament, and to be present at all the King's Councils, and thither to repair uncalled; under whose Hands pass all Charters, Commissions, and Grants of the King, with the Sanction of the Broad Seal, without which all such Instruments are of no Force; and the Reason may be shewn in a very few Words, because the King in Intendment of Law is a Corporation, and therefore passes nothing firmly but under the said Seal.

The Chancellors in common have no Commission by Letters Patent; but Cardinal *Wolfey* declared, that he had a Commission for holding the Seal during his Life; which, nevertheless was adjudged void; and he was so far convinced of it, that he gave up the Point as will hereafter be seen, and *Coke*, 4th Instit. Fol. 87, expressly says, "*An antient Office must be granted as it has been accustomed*". In short, the Chancellor holds his Office no longer than the Seal is in his Hands,

The Form and Manner of ordaining a Chancellor, in the Time of King *Henry the II.*, was by *banging* the Great Seal of *England* about the Neck of the Chancellor elect. But as to his Qualifications the *Author* of *Jus Sigilli* has given it us from *Sir John Davys*, who says, "That besides his natural Faculties and Powers
" of Mind, which he ought to have in great Per-
" fection, he should be furnished with all Learning that
" hath any Relation to the Publick Good; *Divinity*,
" *Law*, *Policy*, *Morality*, and especially *Eloquence*, to
" impart and communicate all the rest; he should
" withal have a long and universal Experience in all
" the Affairs of the Commonwealth; he should be
" accomplished and absolute in all Points of *Gravity*,
" *Con-*

“ Constancy, Wisdom, Temperance, Justice, Piety, Integrity, and all other Virtues, fit for Magistracy and Government; yet so as the same be seasoned, and tempered with *Affability, Gentleness, Courtesy*; howbeit without descending or diminishing himself; but still retaining his Dignity, State and Honour: Briefly; he must be a Person of such Virtue and Worthiness, as his Life may be without Censure; and his Example a Mirror for all other Magistrates.”

The Duty of the Lord Chancellor is set forth in the *Oath*, that his Lordship takes upon the Delivery of the Great Seal, which consists of six Parts.

First, *That well and truly he shall serve our Sovereign Lord the King, and his People.*

Secondly, *That he shall do right to all manner of People, Poor and Rich, after the Laws and Usages of the Realm.*

Thirdly, *That he shall truly counsel the King, and his Counsel shall keep.*

Fourthly, *That he shall not know nor suffer the Hurt and Dishonouring of the King, or that the Rights of the Crown be decreased by any Means, as far as he may let it.*

Fifthly, *And if he may not let it, he shall make clearly and expressly to be known to the King, with his true Advice and Counsel.*

Sixthly, *And that he shall do and purchase the King's Profit in all that he reasonably may.*

The Chancellor's Jurisdiction at this Day is such, that he is the chief Person for Matters of Justice (in civil Causes especially) next to his Majesty, and is the grand Dispenser of the King's Bounty and Mercy; for, whereas the other Judges are obliged to keep to the Rules of the Law, even tho' its apparently rigorous, the Lord Chancellor has a Power to moderate that

Rigour, and to pronounce that which seems to him equitable; or, as a learned Author has it, ordering all Things *juxta equum & bonum*, nevertheless he is not to forget to observe Forms of Proceedings in common with the other great Officers of Justice, and to have Regard to the Circumstances of the Cases in Question.

His Honour, *the Master of the Rolls*,* is the second great Officer of this Court, (which Office is a very antient one) who with the other eleven Masters in Chancery are the great Assistants of the Chancellor. *The Masters are intrusted by the Court to state and report Matters of Fact,† upon the Truth and Fairness of which Reports the Justice of the Decree of the Court must depend. They are even sworn to advise the Chancellor himself.*

From the time the Cardinal entered on this high Office he assiduously attended it, heard Causes with great Patience, and made Decrees with much Justice, having always a special Regard to the Satisfaction of the Publick, by giving his Reasons in open Court. This it was that gained him great Respect; for when Men saw his Willingness and Ability to redress Grievances, they were not slow in bringing Complaints before him; and this has obliged even such as were no Friends to his Memory, to transmit it with due Respect. Among whom even *Edward*‡ (who in many Respects has too implicitly followed

*The Master of the Rolls was antiently stiled *Garden des Rolls, Clericus Rotulorum, Custos Rotulorum*, whose Office is grantable either for Life, or at the Pleasure of the King. See *Co. 4th Inst.* 94.

Edward the III^d, in the 15th Year of his Reign, annexed a House to the Office, which was

before called *Domus Conquerforum*, because King Henry the III^d founded it for such *Jews* as should be converted to the true Religion of *Jesus Christ*, who were there to have Maintenance,

The present Master is the learned and Right Honourable *William Fortescue, Esq;*

† Vide Sir *Clement Wearg's* Speech at Lord *Maccheysfield's* Trial.

‡ *Hist. of Eng.* Vol. I. p. 635.

followed the Tract of other Historians) gives us this great Character. "And the Character of *Just* cannot be denied the Cardinal in all Affairs of publick Judicature, of which he was *ever apparently studious*; so that where Disorders were committed he generally punished with Severity; this he did both in Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Affairs, *by which Means he accidentally became a prime Instrument in that great Work of the Reformation of the Church, which sort of Work is oftentimes, by the ordering of Providence, effected by the Hands of wicked and scandalous Agents.*"

Qq 2

But

* By putting the Words a little closer together, the *true Sense* (if there is any *Sense* in it) of the Quotation is this: Cardinal Wolsey, *who, as Chancellor, was apparently ever studious to do Justice, by which Means he accidentally, by the ordering of Providence, became a wicked and scandalous Agent* to bring about an odd sort of a Work, the *Reformation of the Church*.—We could almost defy any body to produce such *Reasoning* and such *Inferences*, because we cannot think any one could be capable of them, but the Transmitter of the following Story, the Rev. Dr Echarð.

But others accounted it (the Victory Oliver obtained over the King at Worcester) an *infernal Judgment*; concerning which we have a strange Story in the last Part of the *History of Independence*, which the Author says he received from a Person of Quality, viz. "It was believed, and that not without some good Cause, that Cromwell, the same Morning that he defeated the King's Army at Worcester, had Conference personally with

the Devil, with whom he made a Contract, that to have his Will then, and in all Things else for seven Years from that Day, he should, at the Expiration of the said Years, have him at his Command, to do at his Pleasure, both with his Soul and Body." This is also related in other printed Books; but we have received a more full Account never yet published, which is here inserted as a Thing more wonderful than probable, and therefore more for the Diversion than Satisfaction of the Reader. It is a Relation or Narrative of a valiant Officer called *Lindsey*, an intimate Friend of Cromwell's, the first Captain of his Regiment, and therefore commonly called Colonel *Lindsey*; which is to this Effect: "On the 3d of Sept. in the Morning, Cromwell took this Officer to a Wood Side, not far from the Army, and bid him alight, and follow him into that Wood, and to take particular Notice of what he saw and heard. After they had both alighted, and secured their

But let us leave the Doctor and attend to my Lord *Herbert*, who is pleased to speak thus: "His *Birth*, being otherwise so obscure and mean as no Man had ever stood so single, for which Reason also his chief Endeavour was not to displease any great

" their Horses, and walked
 " some small Way into the
 " Wood, *Lindsey* began to turn
 " pale, and to be seized with
 " Horror from some unknown
 " Cause: Upon which *Crom-*
 " *well* asked him how he did,
 " or how he felt himself? He
 " answered, *That he was in such*
 " *a Trembling and Consternation,*
 " *that he never felt the like in*
 " *all the Conflicts and Battles*
 " *he had been engaged in; but*
 " whether it proceeded from
 " the Gloominess of the Place,
 " or the Temperament of his
 " Body, he knew not. *How*
 " *now, said Cromwell, what,*
 " *troubled with Vapours? Come*
 " *forward, Man!* They had
 " not gone above twenty Yards,
 " before *Lindsey* on a sudden
 " stood still, and cried out, *By*
 " *all that's good, he was seized*
 " *with such an unaccountable*
 " *Terror and Astonishment, that*
 " *it was impossible for him to stir*
 " *one Step further.* Upon which
 " *Cromwell* called him *Faint-*
 " *hearted Fool,* and bid him
 " *stand there and observe, or be*
 " *Witness;* and then advancing
 " to some Distance from him,
 " he met with a grave elderly
 " Man with a Roll of Parch-
 " ment in his Hand, who deli-
 " vered it to *Cromwell*, who ea-
 " gerly perused it. *Lindsey*, a
 " little recovered from his Fear,
 " heard several loud Words be-

" tween them; particularly,
 " *Cromwell* said, *This is but for*
 " *seven Years; I was to have had it*
 " *for one and twenty, and it must*
 " *and shall be so.* The other
 " told him positively, *it could*
 " *not be for above seven;* upon
 " which *Cromwell* cried with
 " great Fierceness, *It should how-*
 " *ever be for fourteen Years.* But
 " the other peremptorily de-
 " clared, *It could not possibly be for*
 " *any longer Time; and if he*
 " *would not take it so, there were*
 " *others who would accept of it.*
 " Upon which *Cromwell* at last
 " took the Parchment, and re-
 " turning to *Lindsey* with great
 " Joy in his Countenance, he
 " cried, *Now, Lindsey, the Bat-*
 " *tle is our own! I long to be en-*
 " *gaged.* Returning out of the
 " Wood, they rode to the Ar-
 " my, *Cromwell*, with a Reso-
 " lution to engage as soon as
 " possible, and the other with
 " a Design to leave the Army
 " as soon. After the first Charge
 " *Lindsey* deserted his Post, and
 " rode away with all possible
 " Speed, Day and Night, till
 " he came into the County of
 " *Norfolk*, to the House of an
 " intimate Friend, one Mr. *Ther-*
 " *rowgood*, Minister of the Pa-
 " rish of . *Cromwell*,
 " as soon as he missed him,
 " sent all Ways after him, with
 " a Promise of a great Reward
 " to any that should bring him
 " alive

"great Person,* which yet could not secure him;
 "for, as all Things pass'd thro' his Hands, so they
 "who fail'd in their Suits generally hated him: All
 "which, though it did but exasperate his ill Nature,
 "yet this good Resultance followed, *that it made him*
 "*take the more Care to be just, whereof also he obtained*
 "*the Reputation in his publick bearing of Causes; for*
 "*as he loved no-body, so his Reason carried him*". To
 search into the Secrets of Men's Hearts, and find out
 sinister Motives for worthy Actions, we will leave to
 the two most Reverend Gentlemen, Dr. Echard, and
 Dr. Knight; but, surely, in the Apprehension of Man-
 kind in general, his doing strict Justice was laudable,
 and the most probable Means of procuring him pre-
 sent Interest, Reputation, and a lasting Fame, what-
 ever might be his Motive.

That

"alive or dead." Thus far the
 Narrative of *Lindsey* himself;
 but something further is to be re-
 membered, to confirm the Story.

When Mr. *Thoroughgood* saw
 his Friend *Lindsey* come into his
 Yard, his Horse and himself just
 tired, in a sort of a Maze, said,
How now, Colonel! We hear
there is like to be a Battle shortly;
was, fled from your Colours? A
Battle! said the other, *Yes there*
has been a Battle, and I am sure
the King is beaten; but, if ever I
strike a Stroke for Cromwell again,
may I perish eternally; for I am
sure he has made a League with
the Devil, and the Devil will
have him in due Time. Then
 desiring his Protection from
Cromwell's Inquisitors, he went
 in and related to him the whole
 Story, and all the Circumstances,
 concluding with these remarka-
 ble Words, *That Cromwell would*

certainly die that Day seven Years
that the Battle was fought. The
 Strangeness of the Relation caus-
 ed Mr. *Thoroughgood* to order his
 Son *John*, then about twelve
 Years of Age, to write it in full
 Length in his *Common-place Book*;
 and to take it from *Lindsey's* own
 Mouth. This *Common-place*
Book, and likewise the same
 Story written in other Books, I
 am assured is still preserved in
 the Family of the *Thoroughgoods*.
 But how far *Lindsey* is to be be-
 lieved, and how far the Story is
 to be accounted incredible, is left
 to the Reader's Faith and Judg-
 ment, and not to any Determina-
 tion of our own.

The Dr. has made the *Prodi-*
gies on the Day of his Death (Sept.
 3, 1650) of a Piece with his
Devilish Contract, making the
 very *Winds* and his *Guts* equally
 rise in Judgment against him.

* But Monsieur *Rapin* says, *he pleas'd no body but the King.*

That an ingenuous Disposition and universal Benevolence towards Mankind are requisite in those who preside in Courts of Judicature cannot be denied, and that *Wolsey* wanted not these shining Qualities almost all own, and several of his charitable and noble Foundations prove: And these Qualities, and many more with which he was endowed, one would reasonably think, might have protected him from so many severe Cuts from his Reverend Brethren.

And as Monsieur *Rapin*, and others of the Cardinal's inveterate Enemies have endeavoured egregiously to misrepresent almost every Action of his, we think proper to subjoin two Authorities from Dr. *Fiddes*. "There are (says the Doctor) two considerable " Testimonies from *Erasmus*'s great Friends, Sir *Thomas More* and *Ammonius*, relating to the Cardinal's " wise and equitable Conduct as Chancellor of *England*, that may be here not inconveniently cited; " and especially as they tend to remove a Prejudice, " which has been entertained against the Cardinal, as " if he had used some indirect Methods towards superseding Archbishop *Warham* in that high Office. " Sir *Thomas More*'s Words are these, " **The Archbishop of Canterbury hath at length resigned the Office of Chancellor, which Burthen, as you know, he had strenuously endeavoured to lay down for some Years, and the long wished for Retreat being now obtained, he enjoys a most pleasant Recess in his Studies, with the agreeable Reflection of having acquitted himself so honourably in that high Station*". " *The Cardinal of York* (continues Sir *Thomas* †) *by the King's Orders, " succeeds*

* *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Officio Cancellarii, cujus onus, jam aliquot, ut scis, annos, mitrum quam laborabat excutere, tandem exsolutus est. Et desideratum jam diu secretum nactus, gratissime inter Literas otio & negotiorum bene à se gestorum Retardatione fru-*
itur.

† *Princeps, et Cardinalem suscepit. Eboracensem. Quare se gerit ut spes quodvis omnium, quam pro reliquis Ejus virtutibus maximam, longè exuperet. Et (quod est difficillimum) cessante post optimum Predecessorem vade prebetur ac placeat. Morus Erasmo*

“succeeds him, who discharges the Duties of that Post so conspicuously, as to surpass the Hopes of all, notwithstanding the great Opinion they had of his other eminent Qualities; and, what is most rare, to give so much Pleasure and Satisfaction, after so excellent a Predecessor”. “Ammonius writes to Erasmus to the same Effect, in regard to the foregoing Articles, and says,† *Your Archbishop, with the King's good Leave, has laid down his Post, which that of York, after much Importunity, has accepted of, and behaves most beautifully*”.* After citing these Proofs of the Cardinal's Moderation, from Gentlemen that were his Contemporaries, with what Face can Monsieur Rapin, and other Authors, charge him with Greediness to step into his Predecessor's Place.

Erasmus, just at the Close of this Year, obtained the Royal Licence to return again to *Basil*, where he had not been long before he wrote to the Cardinal the following Letter :

Erasmus returns to Basil.

Erasmus to the most Rev. Lord Thomas, Cardinal and Archbishop of York.

“Most Reverend Prelate,

“I am very sorry that I had not an Opportunity of a longer, and more particular Conference with your Highness, before I left *England*. My last Refuge, and the Sheet-anchor of my Felicity. I had fixed in, you; but I was in haste to publish St. *Jerom*, a voluminous and celebrated Work, and, if I mistake not, a Work which will be immortal, besides its being pious and edifying. This it was “which

† *Tunc Cantuariensis, cum bona regis venia, Magistratu se abdicavit. Quem Eboracensis impendio rogatus suscepit, & pulcherrime gerit.*

Andreas Ammonius Erasmo.

in a good Degree, will not hold between the late great Chancellor, Lord Talbot, and his present Successor, the Right Hon. Philip Lord Hardwick, who fills the Chair with so much Sagacity and Eminence, we shall leave the Learned in the Law to determine.

* Whether the Comparison,

“ which I had so much at Heart, that I neglected all other Business to prosecute it.

“ The Roads in this Part of the World were always obnoxious to Robberies, but never more than at this Time; and then the *Rhine*, being swelled with Snows and Rains, had overflowed and made so general an Inundation; especially about *Strasbourg*, that our travelling might more truly be called swimming, than riding. However, I despised every thing if so be I could but get *St. Jerom* published. There is a new *Greek* Testament printed as it was written by the Apostles, with a *Latin* Translation, and Annotations by me. Some other Things also I have published of less Consequence. And yet these Trifles are a greater Trouble to me, than those arduous Affairs of State are to you. When, therefore, we have finished these Undertakings, we will hasten our Return to *England*, especially if your Eminency's Goodness and Generosity will, in the mean Time, be providing something for me as a Refreshment, both to my Mind and Body, after the Fatigues I have undergone from these Employments. May a good State of Health be enjoy'd by your most Reverend Lordship, to whom I wholly devote and dedicate myself.

“ *Basil, Feb. 3, 1516.*”

About this time the Reverend Dr. *Colet*, a famous Divine, met with a very kind Treatment from the Cardinal, which Account we shall take from Dr. *Knight*, who tells us, “ That the Bishop of *London* had prosecuted the Dr. for an Heretick, upon which he laid his Complaint before the Cardinal; that the Cardinal paid a particular Deference and Respect to Dr. *Colet*; and took care that he should peaceably possess what he had without any Disturbance, and stopt the further Prosecutions against him.”

Dr. Colet was born in *London* in the Year 1466. He was Son of Sir Henry Colet, sometime Lord Mayor of *London*; made Dean of St. *Paul's*, as some say, in the Year 1509; but others aver, that it was not till the Year 1512, when he founded his School near St. *Paul's*, which he called after the Name of that Cathedral, and continues to this Day in a flourishing Condition.* The first Master was the famous *William Lily*, whose Grammar and Learning is very well known to the *British* Nation. The Dr. was an intimate Friend of *Erasmus's*, as sufficiently appears from the Epistles that passed between those two great Men now extant. He lived till the Year 1519, and was buried in St. *Paul's* Cathedral, where a handsome Monument was erected to his Memory; but, being much worn out by Time, was, some few Years since, repaired by the *Mercer's* Company, who were appointed Trustees of his Will, and have all along nobly and faithfully executed the great Trust reposed in them, as well to their Honour, as to the great Service of the City of *London* and the Kingdom in general.

Some little time after Archbishop *Wolsey* was declared a Cardinal, his *Royal Master* wrote him a most affectionate Letter with his own Hand, which, for the Novelty of it, we shall here introduce.

“ *My Lord Cardinal,*

“ I recommend me unto you as heartily as I can, and I am right glad to hear of your good Health, which I pray God may long continue. So it is, that I have received your Letters, to the which, because they ask long answering, I have made an Answer by my Secretary: But two Things there are which are so secret that they cause me at this

The King's Letter to Cardinal Wolsey.

VOL. II.

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“ time

* Among other eminent Personages educated at this School were the late Victorious *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, the present Earl of *Wilmington*, the late Lord *Orrery*, Sir *John Strange*, Kt. &c.

“ time to write to you myself ; The one is, that I
 “ trust the Queen, my Wife, is with Child ; the o-
 “ ther is the chief Cause why I am so loth to repair
 “ to *London*, because now is partly her dangerous
 “ Time, and likewise because I would remove her as
 “ little as possible. Now, my Lord, I write this unto
 “ you not as an assured Thing, but as a Thing
 “ wherein I have great Hope and Likelihood ; and also
 “ I do well know that this News will be comfortable
 “ to you to understand, therefore I do write it unto
 “ you. No more unto you at this Time, *Nisi quod*
 “ *Deus velit inceptum opus bene finire.*

“ Written with the Hand of your loving Prince
 “ HENRY R.”

Affairs of Spain.
 1516.

Ferdinand was now grown old and sickly : As his Age and Sickness increased, he did not care to rest long in a Place, but continually moved up and down.

Charles of Austria, hearing of his Grandfather's Illness, sent *Adrian*, his Preceptor, into *Spain*, to take care of his Interest, with full Power likewise to take upon him the Government of *Spain*, in case *Ferdinand* should suddenly die, before he could otherwise provide for the Safety of that State.

Adrian, pursuant to his Master's Instructions, set out for King *Ferdinand's* Court ; upon his Arrival there he demanded an Audience of the King, which was at first refused him ; (tho' great Endeavours were used to prevail on his *Catholick* Majesty, to see a Person who came from one so nearly related to him) but after some time, as his Illness increased, he changed his Mind ; for, tho' at first he could not be persuaded to prepare for Death, or see his Father Confessor, who often endeavoured to get Admittance, he now found it was in vain to defer it, and that his End drew near, he then sent for his Confessor, received the Sacraments, and acquiesced with the Performance



1A P. 1000 J. 1000



mance of other Rites of the Church. He also sent for his Council, to advise with them, whether he had not better leave his Dominions in *Spain* to his Grandson, *Ferdinand*, instead of *Charles*, who, he said, perhaps could not come over to govern himself.

The Council unanimously begged him not to alter the Succession, which might occasion Wars and other Calamities. This Representation had the desired Effect, and *Ferdinand*, when his Council were retired, admitted *Adrian* to his Presence, and made his Will.

On the 23d of *January* he died of the Dropsy, at a poor Inn at *Madrigalego*, in the 64th Year of his Age and 42d of his Reign. Many believe the Potion, that his Queen gave him, in hopes of having Children by him, contributed greatly to destroy his Constitution.

Death of King Ferdinand of Spain.

Ferdinand ordered his Body to be buried at *Granada*. An Astrologer having told him he should die at *Madrigalego*, he would never go to that Town.

Guicciardin relates, " That *Ferdinand* was a King excellent in Council, and so furnished with all Virtues, that he deserved no Reproof, if he had been constant in keeping his Promises ; for, touching the Charge of Niggardliness, it was not true, as appeared on the Survey of his Estate after his Death." This Author further remarks, " That, to the excellent Virtues of this Prince, was joined a most rare and perpetual Felicity during the whole Course of his Life, excepting the Death of his only Son : " For, as to the Death of his Son-in-law, that added to his Greatness, the Kingdom of *Castile* reverting to him again thereon. Besides, several other Incidents contributed towards making him great ; he being Second Son to *John*, King of *Arragon*, he came to the Crown by the Death of his eldest Brother, and gained the Kingdom of *Castile* in Right of his Wife ; after subduing the other Competitors to the same, he annexed the King-

dom of *Granada* to his Empire, as before observed; (which the Enemies of the *Christian* Faith had usurped almost Eight hundred Years) *Naples*, and the great Discoveries in the *West-Indies*, with the Conquest of *Navarre*, the Principality of *Oran*, and many other Places of Importance upon the Coast of *Africa* still added to his Grandeur. He kept always the upper Hand of his Enemies, and cloaked his Ambition and Covetousness of other Princes Kingdoms and States under Pretence of Zeal to Religion, and an holy Affection to the Common-wealth.

By this Monarch's Death a Pope and Three great Kings, in about seven Years, went to their last Account, *Julius* the II^d, *Henry* the VIIth, *Lewis* the XIIth, and *Ferdinand*. The second and fourth were not unlike in Temper, each having every thing as far as he could for his own Benefit. *Henry*, during his Life, made *Ferdinand* his Dupe to carry the Points he had then depending, whilst *Ferdinand* thought he was made use of in Matters that were greatly for his own Interest; and He at last perceiving the Use *Henry* made of him, in return made the same Use of his Son, *Henry* the VIIIth, as his Father had made of him. But when the great *Wolsey* came to be first Minister, he quickly discovered all old *Ferdinand's* Drifts, other Measures were taken, and young *Henry*, by pursuing his Premier's Advice, soon turned the Tables upon his Father-in-law. Witness the Treaty, in the Year 1514, between *Henry* and *Lewis*, concluded without the Privy either of him or *Maximilian*; and *Henry* at last learned to take as little Notice of the *Spanish* Ambassador as King *Ferdinand* and *Julius* the II^d had before of his, when they thought they had served their own Turns, by obtaining the Retreat of *Lewis* the XIIth out of *Italy* in the Year 1512.

Though *Ferdinand* was counted as saving as *Henry* the VIIth, yet the Case was vastly different at their Death, the first leaving his Successor, though he had

no *Indies* to be supplied from, an almost immense Sum in ready Money: Whereas the other, who had the *Indies* at command, died so poor as to leave scarce sufficient to bury him: But then it may be observed, that *Henry* the VIIth kept himself single, after the Death of his Queen; whereas *Ferdinand* married an artful Wife in his old Age, who was a Woman of great Activity, and very likely was the Means of exhausting both his Wealth and his Strength.

After the Death of *Ferdinand* the whole Kingdom of *Spain* came of course to *Johanna* his eldest Daughter; but, by Reason of her Defect of Understanding, *Charles* of *Austria*, her eldest Son, then in the *Low Countries*, was proclaimed King of *Spain*. Whereupon *Adrian*, then upon the Spot, produced to the Council Letters Patent, whereby he was constituted Regent in his Master's Absence: But *Ximenes* refused to acknowledge him as such on Pretence, that *Charles* had no Authority to appoint a Regent, before he was received as King. However, to prevent Disturbances on that Head, it was soon agreed, that the Affairs of the Government should be conducted by *Ximenes* and *Adrian*, as Joint-regents, and all Dispatches to be signed by both Parties: But, notwithstanding this Agreement, *Ximenes* left *Adrian* only the bare Title of Joint-regent, for he discharged all the Functions of a sole Governor.

When King *Charles* heard what had been transacting in *Spain*, he wrote to the Council of *Castile*, assuring them, that he would come over with all Speed; to Cardinal *Ximenes*, recommending to him the Care of the Government; to Queen *Germane*, comforting and assuring her of all Honour and Respect; and to Prince *Ferdinand*, assuring him, that he would be both a Brother and a Father to him. But there were not wanting Persons, who endeavoured to set *Charles* against *Ximenes*, in which they succeeded; though *Charles* did

did not for the present think proper to shew his Displeasure. On the other Hand, though the Queen his Mother, was distracted, several Persons resorted to her, and inculcated so much Ill into her against the King, her Son, that she would never call him any thing but Prince.

Rebellion in Sicily.

Upon the Death of King *Ferdinand*, *d'Hugo de Moncada* was Viceroy of Sicily, and resided at *Palermo*, where the two Earls of *Camerosa* and *Golifana* had so far incensed the Rabble against the Viceroy, that they took Arms and besieged him in his Palace, from whence with much Difficulty he escaped to *Mesina*. In the mean time they broke into his Palace, plundered it, and set several Prisoners at Liberty. King *Charles*, upon hearing this News, sent the Earl of *Monteleon*, his Viceroy over to that Island, with a Body of Troops. These Forces, with the Assistance of some of the Prime Nobility, soon broke the Band of the Mutineers, and, after taking several Prisoners, some were immediately executed, and others were imprisoned, insomuch that, before the Year expired, the Peace of the Island was restored.

The Opposition of John d'Albert

The next Difficulty King *Charles* had to encounter, on his succeeding to the Crown of *Spain*, was this, *John d'Albert*, the deprived King of *Navarre*, got a Body of Troops together, consisting of 1000 Foot and some Horse, and put at their Head the famous Marshal *Peter de Navarro*, who he had prevailed with to enter into his Service. These Forces marched into that Kingdom, and King *John's* Affairs at first seemed to bear a favourable Aspect, which gave great Uneasiness to Cardinal *Ximenes*, the Kingdom being then in a defenceless Condition. However, no time was lost in raising Forces, in order to oppose King *John's* Projects, and the Troops were no sooner raised, but they marched to meet the Enemy, under the Command

mand of Colonel *Ferdinand de Villalva*, who soon came up with King *John's* little Army, engaged, and totally defeated them, and took General *Peter Navarro* Prisoner, who was sent into *Spain*, where he was closely confined for some Years, and at last, through the great Vexation, and vast Mortification of his aspiring Spirit, as it was said, murdered himself in Prison; and thus ended the Life of this gallant Soldier.

Peter Navarro taken Prisoner, and dies miserable.

King *John* and his Queen, upon receiving the News of this Defeat of his Army, died, as some thought, of Grief, which put an End to the Troubles in those Parts much sooner than was expected.

The deprived King of Navarre dies of Grief.

But this was not all the Fatigue the Cardinal met with, there was not wanting many discontented Persons in *Spain*, who proceeded so far as to take Arms against him, yet he found Means to quell those Disorders, and preserve his Command till the Arrival of his Royal Master into *Spain*, tho' it happened not this Year.

As *Ximenes* and *Wolsey* were now two of the greatest Ministers in *Europe*, we shall here endeavour to draw a sort of Parallel between them; *Ximenes*, in respect to his Birth, had the Advantage of the Cardinal of *England*. In their first Essays towards making their way into the World, they were under the same Disadvantages, and, after they appeared more openly upon the Stage of it, met with the like ignominious Treatment, though different as to the Duration and other Circumstances of it; but those early Rebuffs produced in the Sequel a Train of Events very favourable to them both, so difficult it is to make a Judgment of what may happen to us in future Time from any present Appearances.

A Parallel between the Cardinals Ximenes and Wolsey.

The Merit of these two great Men could not be obscured, even under Circumstances of Disgrace; they

still

still found generous Patrons, who did not think, as Persons of little Merit in high Stations sometimes do, That the Misfortunes of Men afford a reasonable Pretence why they should not be encouraged or preferred: But yet their Manner, as to their Conduct of Life, was somewhat different. *Ximenes*, after running through a Scene of Actions on the Stage of publick Affairs, which gave him a Dislike of the World, made him chuse to retire to a Cloister,

The Temper of Cardinal *Wolsey* seems to be very different, for his Fatigues and Disappointments rather inclined him to the civil Life and Conversation, though, as to the exterior and devotional Part of Religion, he always shewed great Regard; he also was zealous in reforming scandalous Abuses among the Monastick Orders, and the regular Clergy of all Distinctions, as will be hereafter more fully seen.

The great Revenues of *Ximenes* were employed in Works of Piety and Charity, and in answering the End for which the Donation of them was originally made to the Church. The Poor, whom he called his Lords and Proprietors, received one Moiety, the other was appropriated, necessary Deductions being made for the Expences of his Family, towards founding Monasteries and Colleges, and endowing them after a proper and liberal Manner. Among the rest he had one excellent Design, which he lived to execute, and whereof the Learned World at this Day every where reaps the Benefit; in order to adjust and correct as exact an Edition as might be made of the *Holy Scriptures*, in *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Chaldee*, he bought up, at a vast Charge, all the Manuscript Bibles he could any where hear of; a Copy of which, when finished, being presented to him, with Eyes and Hands lift up to Heaven, he said, *My God, I return thee immortal Thanks for granting my Desires of good Success to see this Work compleated.* Then, turning to his Domesticks, he adds, *It is true,*

my Friends; God hath been pleased to crown my Labours with Success, in many important Affairs, for the Good of the State; but there is not any thing you ought to rejoice with me more in, than the happy Accomplishment of this Impression, and the Explanation of the Bible in four Languages.

The Cardinal of *England* did not less discover the Greatness of his Mind, in applying his large Revenues for the Advancement of Piety and Learning. It is true, that, instead of erecting, he destroyed several *Religious Houses*, (the Reason for which will be accounted for hereafter) but this was so far from being inconsistent with the great and magnificent Things he had in View, that it prepared the Way towards the Accomplishment of them: And as to the Republick of Letters, it may be affirmed, without derogating from the Glory of *Ximenes*, that Cardinal *Wolsey* was no less a Friend to it; his Foundations were larger, and his Endowments, had they been preserved upon his Plan, more noble and opulent; to which we may subjoin, he had formed a Design; as to the Charge and Difficulty of executing it, not inferior to that of *Ximenes*, in his Edition of the *Old and New Testament*, which was, to cause all the Manuscripts in the *Vatican* to be transcribed for the Service of his Country.

While the Thoughts of these great Men were taken up in promoting the Interest of Learning and Religion, they did not neglect the Services of their respective Masters, or the Affairs of State. They were indefatigable both in super-intending the civil Œconomy, and in taking Care there was no want of military Preparations. It was a standing Maxim with them both, that no Prince could be considerable, except he was either in Action, or had made visible Preparations for Action.

Ximenes's Humility did not exempt him from the Charge of Ambition; nor his pious Works from that of Avarice. The Wars, which he advised his Ma-

ster to prosecute, and in some of which he personally commanded, as we have before related, gave occasion of Censure to his Enemies, who reproached him as acting unsuitable to his Character, which, they judged, should have inclined him more to pacifick Measures than to War. " Nothing, cried they " could be more abominable, than to see a Priest, " an Archbishop, and a Cardinal embroil his Hands " in human Blood."

The Cardinal of *England* was also censured on all those Accounts, except that of having a military Command ; and though these Calumnies were encouraged by the great Men in both Courts, to whom the Power, of which the Cardinals were possessed, had rendered them invidious, yet the two Kings, their Masters, were so sensible of their Integrity and Zeal for the publick Service, that the whole Design, projected to bring them into Disgrace, was impracticable ; till *Wolfey*, indeed, at last was removed ; but not so much by the Weight of all his Enemies in Conjunction, which he had long withstood, as by the Artifice and Insinuation of a single Woman.*

Ximenes punished with Rigour wherever he could discover the Authors of Violence and Injustice, and such especially, who, in Breach of the Trust reposed in them, had *embezzled the publick Moneys*, and the like Instances of Justice may provoke particular Persons, who feel, in one Degree or other, the Effect of it ; yet in general they recommend Magistrates to Esteem among thinking Men, for such necessarily love Order and Justice.

Cardinal *Wolfey* appears, upon the Comparison, to have had an equal Regard to his Master's Honour and the Good of the State, it being allowed on all Hands, that, in his judicial Inquiries and Proceedings, he acted with a becoming Severity, of which we shall immediately give several Instances ; and this leads us to attend the Affairs of *England*.

The different Business the Cardinal was employed in, relating to his Offices as well spiritual as temporal, one would think might have so taken up his Time, that he could not have had Leisure to have attended any other Matters; yet such was his extreme Application to the Affairs of the Government, that this Year was no sooner opened, but he bestowed Part of his Time in reforming the Abuses which had crept into the different Offices, concerning the Revenue and Administration of Justice, in the Courts where he did not immediately preside. First, he began with inquiring into the State of the *Exchequer*, and finding it much exhausted, thro' the King's Liberality; and the Call of publick Affairs, it put him upon bringing to a strict Account the different Persons intrusted with the Receipt of the Publick Revenue. By the Accounts he found several great Persons were indebted to his Majesty in large Sums, the Getting-in of which, thro' the Negligence or Treachery of the Officers, had been neglected. Among those Debtors, the Duke of *Suffolk* appeared to be one: The Debt being demanded, and he then unable to answer it, he thought proper to retire into the Country, where, by living frugal, he hoped to enable himself, out of the Income of his Estate, in Time, to pay it off.* Others immediately paid into the Treasury what they respectively owed; and, where Satisfaction was not to be had by fair Means, Prosecutions were commenced, in order to compel Payment, which had so good an Effect that Money became more plenty, and enabled his Majesty to answer the Exigencies of the Publick, without burthening his Subjects at that Juncture.

After *Wolsey* had reformed these Neglects, he next

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* We wish this prudent Step was brought into common Practice; because it might be the

saving of many good antient Families, as well as of many fine Gentlemen.

proceeded to enquire into publick Misdemeanours, such as *Perjury, Rapes, Oppressions of the Poor, Riots,* and other enormous Crimes; and those as were accused of any of these Crimes were prosecuted without respect of Persons; and such as were found guilty were publickly punished, or severely fined: Infomuch that it was observed, *Perjury* in particular soon became much less frequent. In short, the Cardinal, for exerting himself in bringing notorious Offenders to Justice; was *then* much applauded (as Lord *Herbert* and other Authors own) both by the King and the People: And, for the more speedy punishing the Crimes we have last mentioned, a Court was erected, where the Lords of the Council, and many of the Nobility sat. The Court of Request was by the Cardinal's Means instituted; and he ordained, as *Godwin* affirms, many other Things in the Civil Government of the Kingdom, that were very acceptable to the People, and are in Use even at this Day, by which he manifested his Wisdom and Love of his Country.

Erasmus upon this Occasion remarks, “ That the
 “ Cardinal proceeded in such a Way, as to bid fair
 “ to render *Britain* a more glorious Nation, than it
 “ ever was before; for he so thoroughly purged the
 “ Realm of Malefactors and evil Doers of every sort,
 “ that it was not more free from Poisons and wild
 “ Beasts, than from noxious Men. That, by his
 “ Authority, he cut in sunder many perplexed Law-
 “ Suits, no less happily than *Alexander* did the Gordian
 “ Knott; and that with much Wisdom he composed
 “ the Differences amongst great Men.”

Whilst Cardinal *Walsley* was thus
Wolfey made Le- worthily employed at home, his Ho-
gate à Latere. liness was resolved not to be behind
 hand in distinguishing this great Prelate. He conferred
 on him the Title of his *Legate à Latere*; for the
 Execution of which Office the King, by his Letters
 Patent, consented.

Cavendish gives us an Account of a Dispute that arose between the Archbishops *Warham* and *Wolsey*, with respect to the latter's causing his Crosses to be borne before him in the Province of *Canterbury*; which our Readers may see, p. 9, &c. in the Note.

Controversy between the Bishops of Canterbury and York.

When Archbishop *Wolsey* was made a Cardinal, another Matter arose between these two Prelates, the Cardinal insisting on taking Place of his Grace of *Canterbury*, which gave rise to an Enquiry how far the Cardinal could justify this Demand. A learned Gentleman,* in a Letter to Dr. *Fiddes*, remarks, "That, even from our own Historians, it appears *Archbishops* formerly took Place of *Cardinals*." And we find, that *Cardinals*, tho' *Legates*, yielded the Precedency to *Bishops*, which was observed in the Council of *Vienne*: But this was afterwards altered; for, when *Kemp*, Archbishop of *York*, was made Cardinal, he claimed in the House of Lords the Precedence of *Chichele*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the latter, refusing to comply with the Demand, it was referred to the Pope, who determined it in Favour of *Kemp*. Upon which Occasion the Pope writ the Archbishop a Letter to the Effect following, "That the Degree in the Church next the Papacy were the *Cardinals*:—That they were those venerable Priests mentioned by *Moses*, in the 17th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*:—That they were afterwards instituted by St. *Peter*, and were to be accounted Members of the Pope's Body:—And that the whole Church did turn upon them as upon its Hinges. Seeing therefore, that it hath obtained, by the Customs and Constitutions of particular Churches, that, in the same Province, a Priest should take Place of a Deacon, a Bishop of a Priest, and an Archbishop of a Bishop: So much more, by the Laws of the Catholick Church, ought the Cardinals to preside over all Bishops and

"Arch-

“Archbishops, as they are set over the universal Church by the Pope. *Lastly*, he exhorted and intreated the Archbishop to submit to the Customs of the Church of *Rome*, and give Place to Cardinal *Kepp*; promising both him and the whole See of *Canterbury* all the Kindnesses that could be expected from a most affectionate Father.”

Bishop Burnet gives us some Account of this Controversy as follows. *Remark thereon.*

“Even after *Wolsey* was Cardinal, *Warham*, as Lord Chancellor, took place of him, as appears from the Journals of the House of Peers, 7 *Hen. VIII.* And afterwards (*viz.* after that *Wolsey* was made Lord Chancellor) he gave him place, as appears on many Occasions, and particularly in the Letter written to the Pope in 1530, which the Cardinal subscribed before *Warham*.”

Harmer's Reply.

Mr. *Harmer*, in examining his Lordship's Account, says, “many Mistakes and false Consequences are contained in these Lines: For, 1st, *Wolsey*, in the Quality of Lord Chancellor, took place of *Warham*: It would follow, that the Lord Chancellor, as such, ought to precede the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the contrary of which is known to be, and to have always been true. 2^{dly}, If *Warham*, when Lord Chancellor, took place of *Wolsey*, when Cardinal, in the House of Peers, it doth not follow, that at that Time he took place of him elsewhere as the Historians would insinuate: For in the House the Chancellor precedeth all other Peers, and even the Archbishop of *Canterbury* among the rest, as being, in Vertue of his Office, Speaker of the House; nor could *Wolsey* be so extravagantly vain as to desire the Great Seal, only that he might precede *Warham* in the Parliament: For, as the Historian observes, he affected to govern without Parliaments; and accordingly

“ cordingly for many Years, after he obtained
 “ the Great Seal, had no Parliament; and, even
 “ after the Seal was taken from him, he still took
 “ place of *Warham* in the House of Peers. 3dly, If,
 “ in the Letter wrote to the Pope in 1530, the Car-
 “ dinal subscribed before *Warham*, he could not do
 “ this in the Quality of Lord Chancellor, as the His-
 “ torian imagines; for the Great Seal had been tak-
 “ en from him in the preceding Year, 1529, Oct. 17.
 “ So that some other Reason of *Wolsey’s* Precedence
 “ must be inquired into, and that Reason is very
 “ obvious; for *Wolsey* took place of *Warham*, even
 “ before and after he was Lord Chancellor, as being
 “ Cardinal. This is confirmed by the Relation of
 “ *Cavendish*; who, in his Life, saith, *That Warham*
 “ *checked him for his Presumption, in carrying himself*
 “ *as his Equal; but that, shortly after, Wolsey obtained*
 “ *to be made a Cardinal, and thereby got the better*
 “ *of Warham in that Point.*” †

But to return: We have now traced the Cardinal
 from his Original to the Possession of four of the
 greatest Offices that any one Subject ever enjoyed,
 viz, *Archbishop, Cardinal, Lord High Chancellor, and*
Legate à Latere: And *Cavendish* hath fully set forth
 with what Magnificence he appeared Abroad, as also
 the Grandeur of his Family; which, if it were not
 related by so honest an Historian as himself, it could
 scarcely be believed. [See p. 19 to 28, in the Note.]

An ingenious Historian observed, “ That leaping
 “ high, and at once into Preferment, was a plain
 “ Prognostick of as speedy a Fall; but climbing by
 “ Degrees was an Argument of a sure Footing, tho’
 “ the Ascent was slippery.”

Another Author, upon the same Occasion, relates,
 “ That too sudden Prosperity in the Beginning com-
 “ monly ruins a Man in the End; for how many
 “ Men had ended better, if they had not begun too
 “ well: It’s the Emphasis of Misery to be happy too

soon;

~~It is very remarkable that the Cardinal~~
~~expressed a desire to have a private~~

“ soon ; whereas Greatness growing up by degrees
 “ gives Men a lasting Settlement.”

And says our inimitable Countryman, Mr. *Pope*,
 to his Friend *Gay*, upon his quitting the Court.
 “ Blessed is he that expects nothing, for he shall ne-
 “ ver be disappointed. You are happily rid of many
 “ cursed Ceremonies, as well as of many ill and vi-
 “ cious Habits, of which few or no Men escape the
 “ Infection, who are hacknied and trammelled in the
 “ way of a Court. There is a Thing, the only
 “ Thing which Kings and Queens cannot give you,
 “ (for they have it not to give) Liberty, and which
 “ is worth all they have ; which as yet, I thank
 “ God, *Englishmen* need not ask from their Hands. —
 “ The only Steps to the Favours of the Great are
 “ such Complacencies, such Compliances, such distant
 “ Decorums, as delude them in their Vanities, or
 “ engage them in their Passions. He is generally the
 “ greatest Favourite who is the falsest ; and when
 “ a Man, by such vile Gradations, arrives at the
 “ Height of Grandeur and Power, he is then at best
 “ in a Circumstance to be hated, and in a Condi-
 “ tion to be hanged, for serving their Ends : So ma-
 “ ny a *Minister* has found it !

*Birth of a Prin-
 cess.*

On the 18th of *February* the *Queen*
 was delivered of a Princess, she was
 christened *Mary*, and, after the Death
 of *Edward* the VIth, became Queen. The King did
 not express much Joy at the Birth of this Princess,
 his Heart being set upon having a Prince.

*Dr. Standish cited
 before the Convo-
 cation.*

About this time *Dr. Standish*, hav-
 ing given Offence to the Clergy, by
 some Doctrines he had advanced at
St. Paul's, was summoned before the
 Convocation ; and, in Obedience thereto, he appeared.
 Here the Doctor was asked the following Questions.

“ 1st, Whether it is lawful for a *Temporal* Judge
 “ to bring any Clerks before him in a Court of Jus-
 “ tice,

“ tice, &c. 2^{dly}, Whether the first Orders are holy
 “ Orders, or not? 3^{dly}, Whether a Constitution made
 “ by the Pope and Clergy is binding, in a Country
 “ where the contrary Practice has all along prevailed?
 “ 4^{tly}, Whether a Temporal Prince can check the
 “ Proceedings of Bishops, who misbehave themselves,
 “ in correcting those under their Jurisdiction?” Another Day he attended, when Archbishop *Warham* delivered him a Paper containing the same in effect with the Articles, and a Day was assigned him to put in his Answer. The Doctor, apprehending the Convocation would treat him with Rigour, because he had pleaded for the King, in a certain Cause between the King and the Abbot of *Winchelsombe*, applied to his Majesty for Protection. Upon this the Clergy made their Excuse to the King, acquainting him, that they had no Quarrel against the Doctor upon the score of his pleading against the said Abbot; that this Pretence of his was mere Calumny; that their Exceptions against *Standish* were for certain publick Discourses he had delivered at *St. Paul's* and other Places; long after he had been entertained as the King's Council: In which Discourses he had publicly maintained the Opinions mentioned in the Bill exhibited against him; that these Propositions were directly contrary to the Law and Liberties of the holy Church; that they were bound to endeavour the Suppression of such Innovations; and therefore begged the King's Assistance pursuant to the Oath at his Coronation.

Upon this Application the Temporal Lords and Judges, at the Instance of several Members of the House of Commons, intreated the King to maintain his Royal Jurisdiction; because this, as they suggested, was likewise part of his Coronation Oath; and requested, that his Majesty would be pleased to shelter Dr. *Standish* from the Malice of the Clergy; for that the principal Matter of their Bill against him,

and that which the Abbot declaimed on in his Sermon, were in effect the same Things, and tended both to maim the Jurisdiction of the *Temporal Courts*, and exempt the Clergy from Punishment.

The King, having weighed the Request of both Parties, called Dr. *Vesey*, Dean of his Chapel, to him, and commanded him, upon his Faith and Allegiance, to declare the Truth, according to the best of his Knowledge, as to the first Question put to Dr. *Standish*, *Whether the trying of Clerks, in criminal Causes, before temporal Judges, is directly contrary to the Law of God, and the Liberties of the holy Church, as some of the Spirituality pretended?* To this, after mature Deliberation, Dr. *Vesey*, with all the Solemnity the Affair required, answered in the Affirmative, assigning several Reasons for his Opinion.*

Soon

* Before *Henry the II'd's* Time the Archbishops of *England*, by the Pope's Encouragement, ordered their Suffragans, Bishops, to take into their Jails all Clerks that were guilty of Crimes, whether they were for Murder, Manlaughter, Theft, or Breaches of the Peace, and there to keep and protect them from the King's Justices.

But this Prince had it much at Heart, to lessen the Authority of the Clergy; and, in order thereto, advised and consulted with his Lay-nobility, who were then become very jealous of the growing Greatness of the Ecclesiasticks; urging, that their claiming an Exemption from secular Punishments lessened the Authority of the King's Courts, and that the Bishops were notoriously partial to the Churchmen.

In the Year 1164 the King called a Parliament at *Clarendon*,

where the famous Statutes were made, "That took away the
" Exemption the Ecclesiasticks
" claimed from secular Juris-
" diction; and ordered, that
" there should be no Appeal to
" the Bishop without the King's
" Licence: That no Archbishop
" or Bishop should go over Seas,
" at the Pope's Command, with-
" out the King's Licence: That
" the Bishops should not excom-
" municate the King's Tenants
" in Capite without the King's
" Licence: That the Bishops
" should not have the Cog-
" nizance of Perjury, or *Fidei*
" *Lassionis*: That the Clergy
" should be convened before
" Lay-judges, and that the
" King's Courts should have
" Cognizance of Churches and
" of Tythes."

The Writ *Ne Exeat Regnum* is grounded upon these Statutes of *Clarendon*.

This

Soon after the Judges, the King's Council Spiritual and Temporal, and certain Members of the Parliament, were ordered, by the King, to meet at *Black-fryars* upon this Matter; and

The King ordered the Matter to be examined before himself in Council.

here the Convocation-bill against Dr. *Standish* was read; and what he was to answer to, whether he had publicly or privately maintained the following Propositions. "*First*, Whether the lesser Orders were not holy? "*Secondly*, Whether the Examination of Clerks was not *jure divino*? "*Thirdly*, Whether the Laity might lawfully punish the inferior Clergy, in case the Prelates proved negligent? "*Fourthly*, Whether the positive Ecclesiastical Laws are binding to none but those that receive them? "*Fifthly*, Whether the Study of the *Common Law* ought to be laid aside,

T. t. 2

"because,

This King, by the Advice of his Parliament, which was held at *Northampton*, the 25th of *January*, 1164, instituted Justices *itinerant*,* and divided the Kingdom into six Circuits.

This Prince held another Parliament at *Nottingham* at *Easter*, 1176, when he divided the Nation into four Parts, and to every Part appointed wise Men to do Justice in the Land. This King's Justices, and those of his Successors continued to make regular *Iters* at stated Times, till *Edward the IIIrd* constituted Justices of Assize and Jail Delivery in their Stead, which have continued ever since.

By the 11th Stat. of *Clarendon*, the Bishops are prohibited to give Judgment of Loss of Life, or Member, as appears by the Words of the Statute.

This Statute is in Affirmance of the *Common Law*, which prohibits Clergymen to be present in Judgment of Blood: But the Bishop of *Durham*, notwithstanding the Canon and this Statute, continued to sit in Court in Purple Robes, and to give Judgment of Death; whence comes that old Saying, *Solum Dunelmense judicat Stola & Ense*; — i. e. *Durham* alone judges in Civil and Criminal Causes, he being *Palatine*. One would have thought that those Acts of Parliament, made so many Years before *Henry the VIIIth's* Time, would sufficiently have convinced the Clergy, that they were not exempt from being called in Question in the temporal Courts, for Offences committed by them against the Laws of the Kingdom.

* Who were sent with Commissions into divers Counties, for trying Causes, &c. before Justices of Assize were appointed.

“ because, being but ministerial to Divinity, it taught
 “ People to despise nobler Sciences? *Sixthly*, Whether
 “ the obligatory Part of the *Decretum* might be held
 “ in a Man’s Hand?”

These Propositions being read, Dr. *Standish* begun with his Answer to the third Proposition, and denied he had ever maintained it, and gave much the same Answer to the 5th, and 6th, as to any deliberate asserting them. However, whether he might not have said something to that Sense in Conversation he could not be positive; neither did he believe his Case required it. As to the *first Query*, he answered, *They were holy in one Respect, and not in another.* To the 2d, *That the summoning of them before Temporal Judges implied no Repugnancy to the positive Laws of God:* And to the 4th, *That Ecclesiastical Constitutions, where the Practice runs with them for 300 Years, bind no where, but where they are received.*

To this Answer the Managers for the Clergy replied, “ That the Temporal Judges could no more
 “ justify the calling their Spiritual, than their natural
 “ Father before them; that, as the trying their natural
 “ Father implies express Disobedience against the
 “ Fifth Commandment, so the Inference would hold
 “ to their spiritual Parent, whose Honour is secured
 “ by that Precept; and that Custom ought not to be
 “ pleaded in Bar of the Tenth Commandment.” To this Dr. *Standish* rejoined,

First, By allowing the Parallel, that the Temporal Judge might summon both one Father and the other before him, without any Breach of the Fifth Commandment, provided he managed with Discretion. *Secondly*, He further urged, a Disparity in the Case; for, supposing the Judge could not justify the convening of his spiritual Father, yet it does not follow, but that he might order Clerks to be brought before him; for every Clerk is not his spiritual Father.

Vesey

Vesey seconded *Standish*, and said, " That in the first Ages of Christianity all secular Priests had the Liberty of marrying, but that afterwards, when *Austin* the Monk came over, there was an Ecclesiastical Constitution in restraint of this Liberty." That, because this Constitution was received with us, and in other Parts of the *West*, we *English* Priests live single; but then we ought to take notice, that this Decree was not read in several Parts of *Christendom*, particularly in the *East*, where the Priests in the *Greek Church* marry as well as the Laity. Now, if an Ecclesiastical Constitution may be over-ruled by Non-reception, and the Prevalence of a Custom; then, *à fortiori*, the Trying of Clerks in a Temporal Court ought not to be contested; for here, besides the Plea of Custom, the Benefit of Government is concerned in the Practice: Now the common Good, as has been urged already, ought to have a favourable Allowance, and be preferred to other Considerations.

The Judges, having heard the Case *The Judges* argued on both Sides, came to this Re- *Opinion.* solution, " That those of the Convocation, who awarded a Citation against Dr. *Standish*, had fallen under a *Premunire*; that the King might hold a Parliament with his Temporal Lords and Commons, without the Lords Spiritual; because the Spiritual Lords do not sit in Parliament by the Privilege of their Spirituality, but of their Temporal Estates." " But if here, says Dr. *Collier*, the Reporter has dealt clearly, the Resolution of the Judges seems somewhat extraordinary; for, *First*, they pronounced the Clergy guilty of a *Premunire*, for citing *Standish* before the Convocation, and trying him for heretical Principles, of which the Bishops were evidently Judges by Law. *Secondly*, They assert the King may hold a Parliament without the Bishops, which is no less a Contradiction to the *English*

English Constitution, for nothing is more plain, than
 that the Prelates have been always reckoned an essen-
 tial Part of the Legislature in all Acts of Parliament ;
 where the Subjects are mentioned, the Spiritual Lords
 are named in the first Place ; and in Case of Blood,
 when the Bishops were restrained by the Commons
 from being present, the Custom was to make a Pro-
 testation to have their Privilege. Of this we have a
 famous Instance in the Time of King *Richard the III.*
 In this Reign, *Courtney*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 made a Protestation in the Name of all the Bishops ;
 it sets forth the *Lords Spiritual*, by Virtue of their
 Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a Right to
 sit, debate, vote, and give Judgment with the rest of
 the Peers in all Cases and Matters transacted by the
 Parliament, &c. This Instrument, at the Instance and
 Petition of the Archbishop, and of his Suffragans,
 was read in a full House, and entered upon the Parlia-
 ment-rolls by the King's Command, with the Assent
 of the Temporal Lords and Commons. Further we
 are to observe, that there were no Creations by Patent
 till the Reign of King *Henry the III.* Till this
 Time all the temporal Peers were noble, in virtue
 of their Fiefs. It was the Manner of holding which
 gave them their Quality, and of this we have still an
 Instance in *Arundel Castle* ; for whosoever is the
 Owner of this Castle has the Dignity of a Peer,
 and a Right to sit in Parliament ; from hence it
 appears, that the Reason the Judges give for their
 Opinion is inconclusive : They say, *the Bishops do not*
fit in Parliament by Virtue of their Character, but upon
the Account of their temporal Possessions ; that is true :
 But what follows ? Why the contrary of the Judges
 Conclusion ; for, if the Bishops sit by Virtue of their
 Temporal Possession or Baronies, then, by the Judges
 Confession, their Tenures give them a Right to sit ;
 and by Consequence they could not be denied that
 Right without open Breach upon the Constitution.

“ But

“ But I need not say any more (says the Doctor) in
 “ so plain a Case ; and therefore, upon the whole, as
 “ the Clergy were mistaken one Way, the Reverend
 “ Judges were no less in an other.”

After this Debate the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
 and a great many of the House of Commons, toge-
 ther with the Justices of the King's spiritual and tem-
 poral Courts were ordered by his Ma-
 jesty to attend him at *Baynard's* Castle.

*Cardinal Wol-
 sey's Speech to
 the King.*

Here Cardinal *Wolsey* opened the Assem-
 bly, and kneeling to the King declared,

“ That he believed none of the Clergy had any In-
 “ tention to disoblige the Royal Prerogative ; that,
 “ for his Part, he owed all his Promotion to his
 “ Highness's Favours, and therefore never would
 “ assent to any thing that should lessen the Rights
 “ of the Crown : That this Business of con-
 “ vening Clerks before Temporal Judges was, in
 “ the Opinion of the Clergy, directly contrary to the
 “ Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Holy Church :
 “ That both himself and the rest of the Prelates
 “ were bound, by their Oath, to maintain this Ex-
 “ emption ; for this Reason he intreated the King,
 “ in the Name of the Clergy, that his Majesty would
 “ be pleased to refer the Decision of this Point to
 “ the Pope and the Conclave.” To this the King

replied, “ That he thought Dr. *Standish*, and others
 “ of his Spiritual Council, had given the Clergy a
 “ sufficient Answer.” Upon this the Bishop of *Win-*

chester (who came from his Seat on purpose to assist
 at this Assembly) said, “ Sir, I warrant you Dr. *Stan-*
 “ *dish* will not abide by his Opinion at his Peril.”

To this the Doctor answered, *What should one poor*
Fryar do against all the Bishops and Clergy of England?

After a little Pause the Archbishop of
Canterbury (tho' Mons. *Rapin* would
 have him retired from the Court in
 Disgust) acquainted the King, in the

*The Archbishop of
 Canterbury's Ad-
 dress to the King.*

Name

Name of the Clergy, "That, in ancient Times, "several holy Fathers of the Church had opposed "the *Common Law* in this Matter, and some of them "had carried the Contest so far as to suffer Martyr- "dom in the Quarrel." On the other hand the Lord Chief Justice *Fineaux* replied, "That the Trying Clerks "in temporal Courts had been maintained in the "Reigns of several pious Princes, and that many "holy Prelates had acquiesced under this Law of the "Country, which, 'tis presumed, they would never "have done, had it been so contrary to the Laws "of God, as is now pretended: Besides, the Pre- "lates have no Authority to try any Clerks for Fe- "lony." The Archbishop of *Canterbury* answered, "They had sufficient Authority for that Purpose;" but brought neither Precedent nor Argument to support his Assertion. *Fineaux*, on the other side, rejoined, "That, in case a Clerk was apprehended for Felony, "and afterwards delivered to the Ordinary by the "temporal Judge, you (says he, speaking to the "Bishops) have no Authority to try the Fact: To "what purpose therefore should he be put into "your Hands. In short, either a Clerk must be pro- "secuted in the Temporal Courts, otherwise there "will be no Way to make him suffer the Law for "the highest Crimes."

To this the Prelates making no Answer, the King spoke to this Effect: "By the Providence and Permission "of God We are King of *England*, in which Realm "our Predecessors have never owned any Superior, "and therefore I would have you (meaning the "Clergy) take notice, that we are resolved to main- "tain the Rights of our Crown and temporal Ju- "risdiction, in as ample Manner as any of our Pro- "genitors, and that with respect to the Case in ques- "tion; and, as for your Decrees, we are very well "satisfied, that you depart from the literal Construction "in

*The King's Speech
to the Assembly.*

“ in many Instances, as has been sufficiently proved
 “ to you by our spiritual Council, and therefore
 “ you must not expect, that we should gratify your
 “ Requests any further, than has formerly been done
 “ by our Progenitors.”*

VOL. II.

U u

Upon

* One of his Majesty's Royal Predecessors was *Edward the Ist.*, a brave, great, high-spirited Prince, by all Historians extolled for an excellent Governor and good Legislator, who may be justly stiled the *English Justinian*; and therefore we shall here just mention some of the wholesome Laws passed in his Reign still in Use, and refer our Readers for a more full Account thereof to the Laws themselves, to my Lord *Coke*, and the Author of the *History of the Common Law*, who have learnedly commented thereon.

The Laws of *England* went under a triple Denomination, viz. *West Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Danish*, which were called the *Common Law*.

3 *Edw. I.* the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum* was made, which was enlarged by two subsequent Statutes, 2 *Rich. II.* 5; 12 *Rich. II.* 11. These Statutes are in Affirmative of the *Common Law* of *England*; viz. the *Saxon*, for the Punishment of such as raised false Stories, in order to make a difference between the King and Nobles, was altered; for the old Laws ordered the Tongue of such Revilers to be cut out, but the modern Statutes inflict Fine and Imprisonment, and leave the Measure thereof to Judge and Jury.

The *Magna Charta* of King *John*, and that of *Henry the III.*d, received, in the 25th of *Edw. I.* a lasting Confirmation in Parliament.

This King established and distributed the several Jurisdictions of Courts within their proper Bounds;—checked the Incroachments of the Clergy by the Statute of *Carlisle*, 35th of his Reign;—declared the Limits and Bounds of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by the Statute of *Circumspecte agatis & Articulis Cleri*; i.e. a Charge to the Clergy to act circumspectly, and to keep within the Limits of their own Laws;—established the Limits of the Court of *Common Pleas* by the Statute of *Articuli super Chartas*, Cap. 3. — and the Extent of the Jurisdiction of the Court of *Steward and Marshal*;—settled the Bounds of inferior Courts, &c. and that of keeping the Limits of the Courts of Great Men within their proper Bounds, under several Penalties;—provided against the Interruption of the Common Justice of the Kingdom;—settled the Forms and Solemnities of Fines, confining them to the Common Pleas, and to Justices *Itinerant*;—appointed a Place for them to bring their Records to after their Circuits, whereby one common Repository might be kept of Assurances of Lands, which he did
by

Upon this Cardinal *Wolsey* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* petitioned the King, in the Name of the "Clergy, " That the Matter might rest till they " could send to *Rome* for the Resolution of that Court; " and, in case the Non-exemption of Clerks was consistent with the Law of God, they should be willing " to

by the Statute *de Modo Levandi Fines*, i. e. " Of the Method of " levying of Fines." 18 *Ed. I.* — settled, by the Statute of *Winchester*, the Method for suppressing Robberies;—a speedier Way for Recovery of Debts, not only for Merchants and Tradesmen, but for other Persons, by granting an Execution for a Moiety of the Land by *Elegit*, *West. 2.* Cap. 18. — the Method of Tenures, to prevent the Multiplicity of Penalties, which was grown to a great Inconveniency, by the Statute of *Quia emptores terrarum*, 18 *Edw. I.* on which Subject the Hon. *Martin Wright*, Esq; one of the present Justices of the Court of *King's Bench*, has wrote a very learned Treatise, intitled, *The Law of Tenures*.

His Majesty made Provision for Recovery of Advowsons and Presentations to Churches by the Statute of *West. 2.* Cap. 5. — In the same Parliament he made great Alterations in Estates, whereby the Estates of *Fee Simple Conditional*, at *Common Law*, were turned into *Estates Tail*, and not removeable from the Issue by the former Course of Alienation. This Statute afterwards gave rise to one of another kind, made 7 *Hen. VII.*

King *Edward* changed the Laws of *Wales*, and introduced a

new Law of Dispensation, particularly relating to *Bastards*, who before inherited, but now were excluded. In short, this most noble Prince not only rectified the former old Way of collecting his Revenue in the *Exchequer*, (which was become burthensome) but also removed out of the *Common Law* whatever he found had been before grievous or impracticable.

In *Edward* the III^d's Reign this Method prevailed in respect to the Form of drawing up Acts, when they first arose from a Petition, of which sometimes the King rejected part, and ratified part; the Answers were entered in the Parliament Rolls, and out of both, by the Advice of the Judges and the King's Council, the Act was drawn. But some Difficulties arising from this Way of proceeding, about the latter End of the Reign of *Henry* the VIth, the Parliament returned to the Method made use of in *Edward* the Ist's Time, whereby the Petitions and Answers were, at the first Instant, reduced into the compleat Forms of Acts of Parliament; and, abating the Stile then made use of, the Way hath continued much the same to this Time. See *Gurdon's History of the High Court of Parliament*.

“ to conform to the Usages of the Country.” But it does not appear that the Pope interposed in the Matter; and the King made no Answer to the Archbishop’s Request. As for Dr. *Standish*, the Bishops promised the King he should be dismissed from further Trouble in the Convocation, which was done accordingly, and here this famous Controversy rested.

About the latter end of this Year died Dr. *John Yonge*, Master of the Rolls, for whom Cardinal *Wolsey* had a very great Value. To say something of this Gentleman, in *March*, 1500, he was Rector of St. *Martin’s* in *Oxford*; in 1502 was admitted Rector of St. *Stephen’s*, *Walbroke*, *London*; on the 10th of *March*, 1504, was collated, by Archbishop *Warham*, to the Church of St. *Mary le Bow*; on the 28th of *Nov.* 1511, he was, by Bishop *Fitz James*, preferred to the Prebend of *Holborn*; which he resigned, and was afterwards preferred to be Prebend of *Newington*; on the 13th of *July*, 1513, Cardinal *Wolsey* preferred him to the Rectory of *Therfield*, in the Archdeaconry of *Huntingdon*. He was for many Years employed in several foreign Negotiations, which he discharged with great Honour and Reputation. By his Will he bequeathed, among many Benefactions to his other Friends, to Cardinal *Wolsey* a large Silver Cup. He was succeeded, in his Office of *Master of the Rolls*, by Dr. *Taylor*.

Master of the Rolls dies: Some Account of his Life.

That famous Seminary of Learning, the University of *Oxford*, was, about this Time, under no little Disorders, owing to some of the Pope’s Bulls being privately stolen from them, which put the University upon praying their Chancellor, to procure an Exemplification of them from the Apostolick Chamber; and accordingly the Bulls were soon after restored to them: And, what was very surprizing, Dr. *Ayliffe* tells us, “ That, upon the Extirpation of the

A further account of the University of Oxford.

“ Papal Power, some immoderate Zealots against
 “ Popery committed them to the Flames.”

The next Matter that arose was of another Kind ; the City-bailiffs were endeavouring to break in upon the Privileges of the University ; on which the Chancellor's Commissary suspended them, *ab Ingressu Ecclesie*, for their Contumacy, in not appearing before him at a Day and Place legally assigned ; and such indeed were the Insults of the Citizens, that the Convocation was forced to discommon the Mayor, for not superceding the Process of his Court, against a privileged Person, on the Chancellor's Mandate.

A Gentleman,* who has wrote the History of this University, takes notice, that this was not the only Instance of the Townsman's Rancour to the Privileges of the University : For they carried it so far as to interrupt the Chancellor in the Correction and Imprisonment of Delinquents, and refused to obey the Chancellor's Mandate for impanelling of Juries ; they also impanelled on a Jury two of the superior Beadles of the University, and other privileged Persons, antiently exempt from Juries ; for these, and the like Injuries the Bailiffs were impeached. But the University-Magistrates, considering with themselves how hard a Matter it would be to punish those Criminals according to their Demerits, and that their Charter at this Time was very difficult, which made them again apply to their great Patron, *the Cardinal*, who immediately took them under his Protection, and obtained from his Majesty a Charter agreeable to their Wishes ; this was no sooner obtained, and sent down to *Oxford*, but the Bailiffs were, in Vertue thereof, summoned to appear before the Chancellor's Commissaries, Proctors, and others in *St. Mary's Church*, which they accordingly did, and, on Examination of the different Matters alledged against them, they openly and freely confessed the Crimes laid to their Charge,

* Dr. Ayliffe.

Charge, and Sentence was pronounced as follows :
 " That each of them, in *St. Martin's Church in Ox-*
 " *ford*, should, in a standing Posture, hold in his
 " Hand a Wax-taper of a Pound Weight, from the
 " Beginning of the Gospel to the End thereof ; and
 " then offer their Tapers up to *St. Martin* : That
 " they should, in the next general Procession of the
 " University, walk before the Cross, from *St. Mary's*
 " Church to the Place where the Cross was taken,
 " and, saying short Prayers, should each of them re-
 " peat the Psalter of the blessed Virgin *Mary* for the
 " good Estate of the King and Kingdom."

But the Citizens were highly displeased with this Sentence, insomuch, that they immediately appealed to the King, in order to have their Bailiffs excused from it ; and at the same time laid before his Majesty several Complaints against the Scholars ; particularly charging them with burning the late Mayor's House, and putting him in Fear and Danger of his Life ; also with assaulting several Citizens : Whereupon they prayed the King to order the Commissary, Proctors, and others of the University, to appear before him in Council, and answer their Complaint. This would have been done, had not Cardinal *Wolsey* interposed on Behalf of the University ; so that, at last, the Bailiffs and other Citizens, soliciting this Affair at *London*, miscarried in their Application, and were obliged to apply to the Chancellor of *Oxford*, for a Revocation of the Sentence pronounced against them, which his Majesty was pleased to grant, at the Instance of the Cardinal, upon Condition of their returning to *Oxford*, and there acknowledging in publick their Offences, and paying each of them 4*l.* Costs towards making the University Satisfaction, for the Expences they had put her to in this Application, which they complied with, and thus this Matter ended.

But

But it was not long before the Townsmen endeavoured to elude the Force of the Charter, by the Advice of some artful Lawyers, who endeavoured to turn the Sense of some Expressions therein. This obliged the University once more to apply to their Patron, *Wolsey*, for the Explanation, Augmentation, and Preservation of their Rights, who readily lent an Ear to their Complaints, and some time after procured them that remarkable Charter, bearing Date the 1st of *April*, 14 *Hen. VIII.* under the great Seal of *England*, and subscribed *per ipsum Regem & de data predicta Auctoritate Parliamenti.*

About the Time of these Disputes with the City, certain Members and Scholars gave the University very great Trouble. One of the chief of them was *John Morris*, Doctor of *Common Law*, who was first imprisoned, and afterwards expelled the University, for persuading others to resist the Chancellor's Authority: From hence no small Difference arose, thro' the Complaints which some of his Friends made to the King; but, by Cardinal *Wolsey's* Means, *Morris* was not restored till he had acknowledged in Publick his Offence, and promised, for the future, Submission to the Laws of the University; and then, in Vertue of a Royal Mandate, he was received by a solemn Congregation, and restored to his former State.

These and other Evidences, which we have mentioned, of Cardinal *Wolsey's* Care, not only of the Privileges of the University, but also of getting their Charters secured, explained and enlarged, give us strong Proofs of his grateful Acknowledgments for the Education he received in that noble Seat of Learning; and we make not the least doubt, but that the Heads and Members of this famous University, even at this Day, retain an honourable Respect for the Memory of so venerable and generous a Patron.

We

We have, in our Account of the Year 1513, related, that Lord Montjoy* was made Governor of *Tournay*, and we also find, that Sir *John Russel* † was made Deputy

Affairs of
Tournay.
1516.

Go-

* The Title was extinct some Years after the Death of this Lord; but Sir *William Stuart*, Bart. was, by King *Charles* the II^d, the 9th of *May*, 1684, created Viscount *Montjoy*. In 1686 he went into *Hungary*, and was twice dangerously wounded at the Siege of *Buda*. He afterwards returned into *Ireland*, and was sent into *France* by the Duke of *Tyrconnel*, and there clapped into the *Bastile*, where he remained a Prisoner till the Year 1692; upon his Release he waited on King *William* in *Flanders*, and was killed at the Battle of *Steenkirk*.

He married the Lady *Mary Coote*, Daughter to the Earl of *Belmont*, and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by *William*, his eldest Son. This noble Lord married Lady *Ann Boyle*, Daughter to *Murrough*, Lord Viscount *Blessington*, by whom he had five Sons and four Daughters, whereof four of the Sons and three of the Daughters died in their Infancy; but the 5th, named *Mary*, survived, who is allowed to be a Lady of very great Accomplishments, and an Honour to the Family of the *Boyles*. She married the Right Honourable *James*, Lord *Tyrrawley*, an experienced Officer and an able Minister; and her Ladyship's Brother, the Right Honourable *William Stuart*, succeeded to the Title and Estate belonging to this honourable Family.

† Sir *John* was descended from an ancient Family, and was the eldest Son. *John Russel*, Esq; born at *Kingston-Russel*, resided at *Berwick*, about four Miles from *Bridport*, in the County of *Dorset*, who was a Gentleman of excellent Accomplishments, versed in several Languages, had travelled and been in divers Battles Abroad. 21 Hen. VII. *Philip*, King of *Castile*, being drove on Shore in the *West*, (See Vol. I. p. 253.) and entertained by Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Knt. Mr *Russel*, Sir *Thomas*'s Neighbour and Relation, and then newly returned from his Travels, was invited by Sir *Thomas*, to wait upon the King, who was so taken with his Conversation, that he desired he might enjoy his Company to Court, whither *Henry* the VIIth had invited that Prince: In which Journey King *Philip* being much affected with Mr. *Russel*'s Discourse and generous Deportment, his Majesty recommended him to our King, as a Gentleman fitly qualified to serve him in some considerable Station; he was thereupon taken into Favour, and made one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber.

Sir *John* was Knighted by *Henry* the VIIth, and attended him to *France* as one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber; was at the taking of *Turwine* and *Tournay*, and, for his Services there, the King was pleased to

Governor. But it was not long before they and the Garrison were made uneasy from *England*, occasioned by the King's sending his Letters, dated the 14th of *April*, 1514, directed to the Deputy, Council, and the whole Garrison, "Willing and commanding them to receive their Payments Half-yearly instead of Quarterly, in the same Manner as all other his Garrisons in those Parts were paid; and his Majesty at the same time required the Gentlemen, Constables and Vintners, to certify their Consent to obey this Order." To this the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *John*, with the Council, thus addressed themselves. "To my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and also to all the Lords of his Majesty's Most honourable Privy Council, shewing, That the Inhabitants and Householders of the King's other Garrisons at *Calais* were of one Nation, of long Continuance, and many of good Substance, and glad to assist, help, and trust each other, as good and true Subjects ought to do: Whereas those at *Tournay* were mostly Strangers to the Garrison, and, as far as they could perceive, were very unwilling to trust any of the Garrison, who were few or none that were of Substance, so as to victual or help his Fellow for the Time required: Wherefore they humbly begged his Grace tenderly, of his Charity, to have them in his gracious Remembrance, so that, by his bountiful Favour and Instance to the King's Highness, they might obtain the Grant of

" Pay-

present him certain Lands in *Tournay*; and he afterwards made a considerable Figure at Court. At last he was created Earl of *Bedford*, and had other Honours conferred on him. In short, the Descendants from this Gentleman have not been more illustrious for the Greatness of their Nobility, (thro' the Favour

of several of *Henry* the VIIIth's Royal Successors) than for their Love and Affection to their Country, which they have shewn upon some memorable Occasions: And at this Day his Grace, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, enjoys the Honours and Estates of this noble Family, being lineally descended from this Earl.

“ Payment quarterly, with the good Courſe of Money, and ſo ſhould they be bound, with all the whole Retinue and Garriſon, to pray for the Maintenance and Proſperity of his good and gracious Eſtate.”

The Conſtables of *Tournay*, who were the Yeomen of the King's Guard there, alſo wrote to the Cardinal their piercing Complaint, ſetting forth what Miſeries they muſt groan under, if the King's Order ſhould take Place. The Superſcription of the Letter was, “ To the Lord Cardinal's Grace, and to all the Lords of the King's moſt Honourable Council.” Theſe Addreſſes to the Cardinal and the Council had the deſired Effect, and care was taken to content the Complainants.

There happened this Year a Mutiny in the Garriſon, and a treaſonable Conſpiracy amongſt the *Tournois*, who were uneaſy under their new King, but it was ſoon ſuppreſſed; and, the better to quiet the People's Minds, the King ordered the Lord *Montjoy* (who was upon this Occaſion ſent over from *England*) to declare a general Pardon to them that had been active in thoſe Inſurrections and Treasons, and withal to diſcharge ſome of the Garriſon that might be ſpared: But ſome Doubts ariſing thereon, the Governor addreſſed himſelf to the Cardinal as follows: “ That whereas, in the King's Letters, it pleaſed his Highneſs to write, that his Pleaſure was concerning the Pardons, (as well for the *Engliſhmen* there, for their Riots and unfaithful Aſſemblies, as for the Townſmen, for their Treasons and Conſpiracies) that he, the Lord Governor, ſhould grant them Pardons, according to the Tenour of ſuch Copies as he had lately brought over, he adviſed, that, if thoſe Pardons ſhould be of any Value to the Parties, it would be neceſſary, that he ſhould have a Commiſſion ſent unto him from the King's Grace; for then, when time convenient ſhould offer, they might be

“ granted.” He also found it necessary to advertise the Cardinal, “ That, of the *English* and *Welsh* Men, there were many Thieves and Murtherers, Hunters, and such others as he feared would go over to the Enemy, if they had not their Pardons ; and if the Garrison was lessened it would greatly hurt the King’s Interest in the City.”

This Remonstrance had the Effect his Lordship proposed from it.

The next Matter of Moment that happened in this Place was communicated, by a Letter from the Cardinal, to the Governor and Council of *Tournay*, dated *Aug. 21, 1516*, and runs thus : “ That the King’s Highness was advertised as well from Master Deputy at *Calais*, and Sir *Thomas Spinel*, as by two sundry Spies out of *France*, that the *French* were forming a Scheme to surprize *Tournay* ; and therefore the Cardinal willed the Governor to take particular Caution to prevent the Place being surprized”

This Letter was answered by the Governor and Council with the highest Respect, and proper Steps were taken accordingly.

Soon after fresh Uneasinesses arose among the *English*, upon Account of the Arrear that was then due on their Pay. Upon this the Lord *Montjoy* wrote a Letter to the Cardinal of *York*, dated *Nov. the 8th*, wherein his Lordship signified what Payments would be soon due ; and care was soon taken to remit Money to discharge these Demands. However, upon the whole, the King had little Comfort in keeping this City, being always in Fear of a Surprize ; for the Cardinal had again another Intelligence brought him, by an *Augustin Fryar*, whom he had employed as a Spy, of an Attempt intended to be made upon the Place : Of this the Cardinal and the Council wrote to the Governor, which was carried with such Speed, that in two Days he received it at *Tournay* ; and it was but

but a few Days before the Deputy of *Calais* wrote on the same Subject to *Tournay*, and warned them to have a good Guard upon the King's City.

After these Dispatches were considered, the Governor wrote to the Cardinal, " That all needful Care
" was taken for the Defence of the Place; and assured
" his Grace, that all the Garrison there, and other
" *Englistmen* were of as good Courage as any Men
" could be, being desirous and wishing the *French-*
" *men* would come, to the End his Grace might know
" what Service they intended to do his Highness;
" and, lastly, they told the Cardinal, that the City
" was well victualled and fortified, and in a Condi-
" tion to make a stout Defence, in case of an
Attack."

The Cardinal, upon the Receipt of this Letter, directed the Governor, to persuade the chief Officers of the Town to come over into *England*, to wait on the King himself, and the Privy Council, to satisfy them of their faithful and true Obedience. The Lord Governor, pursuant to the Cardinal's Instruction, required the chief Magistrates of the Town to pass over into *England*, which they did accordingly, and, after performing what was required of them, they returned to *Tournay*.

Where they had not been long arrived, before a secret and dangerous Conspiracy against the Kingdom was discovered, which was forming,* and in which were engaged *France, Denmark, and Scotland*, with some *Englistb*. The Design was no less than to invade *England* on the Side of *Scotland*, and at the same time to land Troops in other Parts of the Kingdom, which was to be done at once, and were to be headed by the Duke of *Albany*, and *Richard de la Pole*. This

X x 2

Conspi-

* Do not these Plots and Conspiracies (notwithstanding all the blustering of *Monf. Rapin*) justify the Measures, that *England*

was then taking, to stop the Progress of the *French* Arms, in order to render her less able to disturb her Neighbours?

Conspiracy coming to the Knowledge of the Governor of *Tournay*, by Means of one *Crossone*, the Governor dispatched a particular Account of it to the Cardinal, whereupon such effectual Courses were taken, both at Home and Abroad, that the Confederacy was soon broken : But these Proceedings more and more induced the King to watch the Motions of *France*, and to divert the *French* from putting any of their Projects against *England* in Execution : And as it always has been, so, we have Reason to believe, it ever will be a principal Business of our Nation to keep a watchful Eye on those restless, designing, enterprizing Neighbours.

The King in the first Place sent 1200 Workmen over to *Tournay*, who were employed in building a Castle, which in about a Year was finished, and added greatly to the Strength of the Place, besides keeping the *Tournois* in Awe.*

In

* The City of *Tournay* was afterwards by Treaty delivered to the *French*, as in the Course of this Work will appear ; but, being again taken out of their Hands, they, in the Year 1667, retook the Place, and so fortified it, that it was asserted to be one of the strongest Bulwarks in *Europe*. But this did not deter our General, the most illustrious, victorious, and ever to be had in venerable Memory, *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, (who had before highly distinguished himself in many glorious Actions, the Recital and Sculptures of which have filled Volumes) from attacking this Place ; for, on the 31st of *June*, 1709, his Army assembled a-

bout *Courtray* and *Menin* ; the next Day his Grace put himself at the Head of his Forces, and acted so Politick a part, that he deceived the *French* General, who thought he had taken such shrewd Steps as totally to defeat the Duke's Intentions. Whilst the *French* were replete with vain Conceits, the Duke, on the 27th of *June*, marched his Army by Night without Beat of Drum or Sound of Trumpet, and, to the great Surprize of the *French*, appeared before *Tournay*, and invested the Place, which was ill provided to sustain a Siege. Upon this certain Verses were made on the Duke of *Marlborough*, and among others were the following Lines :

*Thus his Immensity of Thought
Is deeply form'd, and gently wrought,*

In the next Place his Majesty, the better to find the *French* Work in other Parts, sent Instructions to his Ambassador, at the Emperor's Court, to inform that Prince that *Henry* was ready to assist him against *France* tho' he continued in the same Mind as he was in last Year, not to engage therein as a Principal.

Foreign Affairs.
1516.

Pace

*His Temper always soft'ning Life's Disease ;
That Fortune, when she does intend
To rudely frown, she turns his Friend,
Admires his Judgment, and applauds his Ease.
His great Address, in this Design,
Does now, and will for ever shine,
And wants a WALLER but to do him right :
The whole Amusement was so strong,
Like Fate, he doom'd them to be wrong,
And TOURNAY's took by a peculiar Slight.*

The Enemy not having Time to reinforce the Garrison of *Tournay*, it consisted, according to some Accounts, only of twelve weak Battalions, and four Squadrons of Dragoons. This Garrison was very small for so large a Place, which is reckoned as strong as any in *Flanders*, and has a fine Citadel of five regular Bastions. The Town contains seventeen Parish Churches, besides a stately Cathedral; and both Town and Citadel were so prodigiously fortified, after *Lewis*

the XIVth took it, that it was reckoned almost impregnable.

The 7th of *July* the Trenches were opened before *Tournay*, but, for the Particulars of the Siege, we shall refer our Readers to Mr. *Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough*, and only observe, that the Town capitulated in 21 Days after opening the Trenches, which the *French* thought were not to be forced, as appears from the following lofty Inscription, which they had caused to be inscribed on one of the Half-moons.

LUDOVICUS DECIMUS QUARTUS
INCERTUM BELLO AN PACE MAJOR.
QUIBUS COPIIS, CONCILIIS, ANIMO, CELE-
RITATE FORTUNA,
ANNO M.DC.LXVII. NERVIORUM URBEM
QUATRIDUO CEPERAT,
IISDEM, NEUNQUAM POSTQUAM CAPERETUR,
INTER CETERA MUNIMENTA, HOC
QUOQUE
DIEBUS VIX OCTO
AB AREA ET FUNDAMENTIS
IPSE INSTANS OPERI,
VICTRICIBUS MILITUM MANIBUS EX-
TRUXIT, ANNO DOMINI. M.DCLXXI.

Pace (who was then the King's Minister at that Court) attended the Emperor, and communicated to him what his Master proposed, which was received by *Maximilian* with

Lewis the XIVth, who, whether he be greater in Peace or War is uncertain, with the same Power, Conduct, Courage, Activity, and Fortune, with which he took the Town of Tournay, in four Days, in the Year 1667, has, that it may never be taken for the future, amongst other Works, erected this in eight Days from the Ground, and its Foundations, by the victorious Hands of his brave Soldiers, animated by his Presence, in the Year of our Lord 1671.

The Citadel was taken on the 2d of September, and the Garrison was made Prisoners of War, which strong and important Place is now in the Hands of the Dutch. "The Manner of Fighting in this Siege (says the Author of the *Tatler*) discovered a Gallantry in our Men, unknown to former Ages; their meeting with adverse Parties under Ground, where every Step was taken with Apprehensions of being blown up with Mines below them, or crushed by the Fall of the Earth above; and all this acted in Darkness, has something in it more terrible, than ever is met with in any other Part of a Soldier's Duty: However, this was performed with great Chearfulness."

The French during the Course of the War, which our Annals are filled with, met with so many Defeats, that *Lewis the XIVth's* Project, for *Universal Monarchy*,

was quite overturned, and his Ministers were glad, before the Opening the Campaign, 1509, to sign certain Preliminaries for restoring the Peace of Europe, which *Lewis* afterwards rejected, much in the Manner as his Predecessor, *Lewis the XIIth*, had the Treaty of *Dijon*, which his General made with the *Swiss*, at a Time France was in Danger of being lost. (See P. 165.) A celebrated Paper at that Time being published, under the Name of the *Tatler*, an extraordinary Letter was inserted therein, and was thus addressed, "From *Isaac Bickerstaff, of Great Britain, Esq;* to *Lewis the XIVth of France*, on his refusing to sign the Preliminaries; and concludes as follows:

"As your Majesty is a strict Professor of Religion, I beseech you to stop the Effusion of Blood, by receiving the Opportunity which presents itself for the Preservation of your distressed People. Be no longer so infatuated, as to hope for Renown from Murder and Violence. But consider, that the great Day will come, in which this World and all its Glory shall change in a Moment: When Nature shall sicken, and the Earth and Sea give up the Bodies committed to them to appear before the last Tribunal. Will it then, O King! be an Answer for thy
"Lives

with great Joy; and soon after *Pace* wrote to the Cardinal, to give him an Account of what the Emperor had projected, *viz.* the Attacking *Milan*, and, after its Reduction, to make it subject to the Crown of *England*: But *Pace*, in his Letter, expressed his Dislike of it, both upon Account of the Charge of keeping it, and for that the People would not be easy under any other Government, than that of one of the House of *Sforza*; and said, "That, from his own Experience, little Regard was to be had to the Emperor's Word."

These Proposals induced his Majesty to send Sir *Richard Wingfield* to the Imperial Court, where he had not been long, before he acquainted his Master of several important Affairs, which the Emperor, at a private Conference, had offered to him; and these are some of *Maximilian's* further chimerical Proposals, which for the Singularity of them, we shall here introduce.

"First, I desire you to make my most hearty and affectionate Recommendations to my dear and affectionate Brother, the King, your Master, which by Word doth call me Father, and I do call him Son, which I do take right gladly upon me. And as touching the holy Enterprize, which hath been made upon the common Enemy, though as yet it hath not attained the desired End, I trust, that, by my said Brother's further Assistance and Comfort, it shall come right well to both our Ends, and

The Emperor's Proposals to the English Ambassador.

"Lives of Millions, who have fallen by the Sword? *They perished for my Glory.* That Day will come on, and one like it is immediately approaching: Injured Nations advance towards thy Habitation. Vengeance has begun its March, which is to be diverted only by the Penitence of the Oppressor. Awake, O Monarch! from thy Lethargy! Disdain the Abuses thou hast received! Pull down the Statue which calls thee immortal! Be truly great! Tear thy Purple, and put on Sackcloth!" Singular Language to so proud a Prince.

“ and the Weal not only of us, but also of all
 “ *Christendom* : And, in the mean time, I do confess,
 “ that his Assistance, which is past and present, hath
 “ not only saved Cities of mine, but also the Realms
 “ of my Nephew, out of the Enemy’s hand.

“ And, in Consideration of the said Cities and
 “ Realms being saved by my said Brother’s Assistance,
 “ and that also I know well, that, in Time past,
 “ he hath had a special Desire, that a Peace might be
 “ taken between me and the *Venetians* ; I now, for
 “ my part, do offer unto him, that, what Peace so-
 “ ever he shall think honourable for me, and meet
 “ for them, I will make it. And, because neither the
 “ *Swiss*, nor the Pope, nor the *Venetians*, will con-
 “ sent that I, or the *French King*, should enjoy the
 “ Dutchy of *Milan*, I will, if my Brother consent
 “ thereto, that forthwith, upon Knowledge of his
 “ Mind, I will advertise the said Pope, *Swiss* and
 “ *Venetians*, that, for the Weal and Pacifying of all
 “ *Christendom*, I am determined to give the said
 “ Dutchy of *Milan* unto him, with which I am sure
 “ they would be all well content : And this is the
 “ first of the three special Things, upon which I de-
 “ sired, as I said, a speedy Answer. Howbeit I will,
 “ that my Brother do know with the same, that my
 “ Meaning alway is, that he do accept the Adoption,
 “ which I have made of him, and the receiving of
 “ the Empire which I have promised and will resign
 “ unto him. The *Second* is, That I desire my Brother,
 “ that he will procure and help, that the King, my
 “ Nephew, may be reduced to join firmly with us
 “ against the common Enemy. As to the *Third*, I
 “ do desire in most affectionate-wise, that my said
 “ Brother break in War with *France*, in as good
 “ haste as he may ; for, by that one Act, the Enter-
 “ prize of the Dutchy of *Milan* shall be conveyed
 “ surely to the desired Purpose. And also I do de-
 “ sire, he gladly follow and execute my Counsel in the

“ Num-

“ Number and Perfection of his Army ; that is to
 “ say, that, when the War is once proclaimed, and a
 “ sufficient Army set upon the Sea, that the King,
 “ my Brother, do pass the Sea in Person, and be
 “ provided of 2000 Horse, and 4000 Archers, and
 “ do pass with the said Company to *Ypres* in *Flanders*,
 “ to *Tournay*, to *Mons* in *Hainault*, to *Manche*,
 “ to *Bascoigne* in the Land of *Luxembourg*, and so to
 “ the City of *Treves*, where I will not fail to meet
 “ with him ; and also all the Electors and Princes of
 “ the Empire ; where shall not only be accomplished
 “ my Resignation of the Empire, and the Investiture
 “ of the Dutchy of *Milan* granted, but also there
 “ shall be an Army already prepared with Artillery,
 “ and all other Necessaries to enter into *France* ; with
 “ which Army I would my Brother should leave the
 “ Duke of *Suffolk*, or some other Prince, to be the
 “ Captain, having 1000 Horse, and 3000 Archers ;
 “ with which Army I will go myself as a Superin-
 “ tendant, and my Brother in the mean while to pass
 “ with 1000 Horse and 1000 Archers through my
 “ own Country, till he shall come to a City in the
 “ Mountains called *Coyr*, of which is a Bishop that
 “ is both my Subject and Familiar, through whose
 “ Bishoprick my Brother shall pass, till he come to
 “ the Lake of *Combe*, where I shall cause Boats to be
 “ purveyed in a sufficient Number, for his Passage ;
 “ and *Combe* is but 25 Miles from *Milan* ; where,
 “ when he hath tarried a Season, I will in his
 “ Company pass to *Rome*, where he shall be crowned
 “ Emperor: Which done, I doubt not but he shall
 “ and may chuse, whether he will take the most ho-
 “ nourable Peace with *France*, that ever had any of
 “ his Ancestors, or proceed in War, till he hath reco-
 “ vered the Crown as his proper Inheritance ; which
 “ to attain, I esteem he shall have the Consent of
 “ the Pope, and all Christian Princes, and the Aid of
 “ all *Italy*, which must find Health by that Means,

“ or else not only *Italy*, but rather all *Christendom*,
 “ shall remain in War and Desolation.”

These Proposals might have awakened the Seeds of Ambition in a Temper less flexible than that of our Monarch, if Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the other Ministers, had not heard it with that Distrust, they had for some time entertained of all the Emperor's Actions. Even supposing there had been a Probability of making our King Emperor of *Germany*, what would have been the Consequence, but reducing this gallant Country to a Province of the Empire? There was not wanting at that time Persons who found Fault with the Administration interposing at all in the Affairs of *Italy*, and particularly in that of driving the *French* out of *Milan*: Upon which Occasion, *Pace*, in a Letter to *Wolsey*, uses this faithful Liberty, and plainly tells him, “ That such Persons knew not what they said, “ when they found Fault with our King's assisting in “ the Recovery of *Milan* from the *French*, and placing “ *Francis Sforza* in the Duchy, who would, when “ settled, be able to supply the King with 1000 Men “ at Arms, and to repay him the Expences the King “ might be put to on that Account: And, as a Proof of “ his sincere Intention therein, this Prince (*Pace* declared) was ready to send his Brother as a Hostage to “ his Majesty, for Security of Payment.” This was afterwards confirmed by a particular Letter from *Sforza* to the King.

However, it is plain upon the whole, that the King and his Minister *Wolsey* were far from placing any great Confidence in what had been proposed, either in one Instance or the other; yet he ordered *Pace*, his Ambassador with the Emperor, to supply him with a Sum of Money, in order to encourage him to proceed in the Project of attacking the *French* in *Italy*, which, for the present, would find them work enough in that Part of the World. In short,

The Emperor raises his Army and marches into Italy.

as

as soon as *Maximilian* had received a Supply of Money from *England*, and other Parts, he lost no time, but set about collecting his Forces together, being unwilling to lose the Opportunity that offered of making War upon *France*, notwithstanding he was obliged to act alone. The Army he assembled upon this Occasion was no less than 20,000 Men, at the Head of which he instantly marched, unexpectedly entered the State of *Venice*, appeared before *Bressia*, and retook it. Upon which the *French* Army quitted the Place, and retired to *Milan*. *Maximilian* followed them with so much Speed, that he put the *French* into such a Consternation, that they were ready to take to their Heels, in order to make the best of their way home, much after the Manner of their Countrymen in *Lewis* the XIIth's Time : But, luckily for them, just as they were moving, 10,000 *Swiss*, in Alliance with *France*, came unexpected to their Aid ; and, what was extremely particular, as these Toorps refused to fight against the *Swiss* in the Emperor's Army, so, on the other hand, the *Swiss* in the Emperor's Service became very importunate for their Pay, nay, they refused to fight, unless they were instantly paid. *Maximilian* had by this time, as he alledged, parted with all his Money, but promised he would speedily pay them ; yet that did not do, they became more clamorous than before ; so that *Maximilian*, in order to avoid being further teased, when the Army least expected it, he retired according to his usual way, and left them to shift for themselves.

*But his Projects
are soon defeated.*

Maximilian was no sooner gone, but they disbanded, by which Means his fine Projects upon *Milan* came to nothing, at a Time when he had the greatest Probability of Success.

This Departure, or rather Running-away, of the Emperor, and the Disbanding his Forces, so animated the *French*, that soon after they marched to join and

assist the *Venetians* in the Siege of *Brescia*, which in a few Days surrendered upon Articles. Encouraged with this Success, they next laid Siege to *Verona*; but here they found a sensible Change of Fortune, being repulsed with much Slaughter and Loss, which caused them to retire to their respective Governments.

Maximilian, hearing of this ill Success of his Enemies, recovered his lost Spirits, and talked big of renewing the War; and first he begun with sounding the Pope, but found that his private Views would not suffer him to break openly with *Francis*. He also tried *Charles*, but found his Council would by no means listen to his Proposal of joining against *France*, alledging, for a Reason, that *Charles* had much greater Affairs to settle in respect to the Government of the different States lately fallen to him. His last Hopes were to engage *Henry* to become a Principal in the War, and therefore sent his chief Minister to implore his Aid, and at the same time to excuse his Master's late scandalous Retreat, by laying the Blame on the *Swiss*; who, meeting with a favourable Audience, soon dispatched what he was charged with, and returned to his Master.

But *Pace*, in his Letter to the King, which was entirely agreeable to our Minister's Sentiments at Home, plainly tells his Majesty, "That the Emperor's Negligence lost the Victory, and that the Soldiers ran away without Cause: That the Emperor promises to set forward again into *Italy*, but that he could not believe his Words any farther than Deeds should confirm them."

This Letter, and what Sir *Robert Wingfield* wrote to the King, prevented his Majesty's thinking to assist the Emperor in his *Italian* Expedition. — Notwithstanding the Emperor's present Negotiations for carrying on a War, that he might not recede from what he had from the Beginning acted, he was then privately treating with *France* about a Peace; though it

was not carried on so secretly, but the Cardinal had Notice of it; of which he acquaints *Tunstal*, then in the *Low Countries*, that, when this Intelligence was brought to the King, it was not supposed to be true, though he well knew it was no new thing for the Emperor to act a double Part; and therefore advises *Tunstal* to enquire, whether there was any Truth in the Report.

Tunstal was so assiduous in answering this Charge, that he immediately gave the Cardinal an Answer, and satisfied him, that there was Truth in the Report; and withal expressed his Dislike of a League proposed between the King and young King *Charles*, for this Reason, *he would not have his Majesty involve himself in foreign Affairs, to maintain the Interests of other Princes*; * which he enforces by representing the ill State of those with whom the King was to contract, and saith, "The Emperor is poor, and not able to defend himself, and therefore his Assistance could not be of any Significancy: That the *Catholic* King was out of his Realm, and as poor as his Grandfather; and that, if any Invasion should happen, all the Burthen must lie upon the King of *England*." These Remonstrances had a good Effect, and stayed the *English* Court from engaging too deeply either with *Spain* or the Emperor.

Francis in the mean time was well pleased with what had happened in *Italy*, as the Emperor was retreated from thence, though he had met with some Disappointment in the Siege of *Verona*; and, as *Ferdinand* was dead, he begun now to form the Project of conquering *Naples*; but, just as he was going to put his Design in Execution, he was disappointed: For, apprehending he had firmly attached the Pope to his Interest, by the last Interview, he found himself grossly mistaken, the Pope's present View being to

* We wish this weighty Reason may more and more prevail,

to make use of *Francis* to deprive the Duke of *Urbino* of his Dominions, and to settle it upon one of his own Family, which he soon accomplished.

After this was obtained the Pope forgot to thank *Francis* for the Service he had done him. On the contrary, his Thoughts were taken up how he could assist others in driving the *French* out of *Italy*; and, to pave the Way for succeeding in this Design, he settled a secret Correspondence with the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the new King of *Spain*, which, however, did not then take place, though the Pope carried on his Scheme against *Francis* with the utmost Precaution and Secrecy; yet *Francis* got the Knowledge of it, though he pretended to be ignorant: But, as he was fully satisfied of the Pope's Insincerity, and that he was not to be depended upon, it made him intirely give over the Thoughts of the Conquest of *Naples*.

As to *Charles*, his Affairs obliged him to go over to *Spain*, and *Francis*, being thus disappointed of the Pope's Assistance, at last came to a Resolution to enter into a Treaty with the King of *Spain*, who, in the present Situation of his Affairs, could not but wish to live in good Understanding with him. Thus the two Kings being equally inclined to a Peace, without further Ceremony they concluded a Treaty, which was signed the 26th of *August*; The Contents of which was, "That *Charles* should espouse *Louisa*, *Francis's* Daughter, then about a Year old. — That he should have with her the King of *France's* Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, till the Marriage should be consummated, he should give for the young Princess's Maintenance, a hundred thousand Crowns a Year. — That, within six Months, *Charles* should resign the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albert*, Son of *John d'Albert* and *Catherine* his Consort, King and Queen of *Navarre*, who were dispossessed by *Ferdinand*;

“ *nand*; and, in Case *Charles* should not perform this
 “ Article, *Francis* should be allowed to assist the King
 “ of *Navarre*. Lastly, that the Emperor should re-
 “ store *Verona* to the *Venetians*, who, in return, should
 “ pay him two hundred thousand Crowns, and
 “ *Francis* should give him a full Discharge for the
 “ Sum of three hundred thousand Crowns, lent him
 “ by King *Lewis* the XIIth, to maintain the War
 “ against *Venice*.”

On the concluding this Treaty *Rapin* makes the following Remarks: “ The Peace
 “ of *Noyon* was directly contrary to the De- Rapin's
Remarks.
 “ signs of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of
 “ *England*. The Pope was extremely desirous the
 “ *French* should be expelled out of *Italy*. *Maxi-*
 “ *milian* was wholly intent upon raising Enemies to
 “ *Francis*, to hinder his assisting the *Venetians*. He
 “ saw he must resolve either to ratify the Treaty of
 “ *Noyon*, and consequently restore *Verona*, or defend
 “ his Conquest without the Assistance of any Ally.
 “ To avoid both these Extremes he tried all possible
 “ Ways to embroil Affairs, and kindle a new War;
 “ which might occasion a League against *France*.
 “ He hoped thereby to be able to reject, without
 “ Danger, the Treaty of *Noyon*, which he believed
 “ very prejudicial to his Interests. It is true, the
 “ Restitution of *Verona* would be worth to him five
 “ hundred thousand Crowns: But out of that Sum
 “ were deducted the three hundred thousand he owed
 “ the King of *France* but never intended to pay him :
 “ So, for the Sum of two hundred thousand Crowns,
 “ he was bound to restore *Verona*; that is to say, he
 “ was to be shut out of *Italy*, the only thing that made
 “ him considerable in the present Situation of the Af-
 “ fairs in *Europe*. *Henry* the VIIIth was no less de-
 “ sirous of a War with *France*, being prompted thereto
 “ by Cardinal *Wolsey*, or by his Jealousy of *Francis*.
 “ But it was not the same with the Arch-duke, to whom

“ a Peace for some time was very advantageous.” On which we shall only observe, that *Monf. Rapin* seems to be at a Loss to fix, whether *Henry's* own Desire of War with *France*, or his own Jealousy of *Francis*, or his having been prompted thereto by Cardinal *Wolsey* most prevailed.

But, to return, *Henry* could not but be alarmed at the concluding this Treaty at *Noyon*, without his being included in it, which might expose him to be attacked by the Parties united by that Treaty. This, no doubt, made *Henry* seriously endeavour to renew the Negotiation, that had been some time but slowly carried on at *London*, between the Emperor, himself, and young King *Charles* of *Spain*, for concluding a Treaty of Alliance, for the Defence of each other's Dominions ; yet, as the Treaty at *Noyon* was concluded, both the former and the latter did not seem overfond of coming into such Treaty : . However, at last it was concluded at *London*, on the 29th of *October*, whereby these three Princes undertook to assist each other, in case either of their Dominions should be attacked by any Power whatsoever ; and *Rapin* confesses, “ That, when the *English* Ambassador pressed “ King *Charles*, to ratify the League of *London*, he “ deferred it on divers Pretences, because he was “ afraid of offending the King of *France* ; but ratified it after some Alterations.”

As to the Emperor, he soon ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*, and concluded a Truce with the *Venetians*, whereby he undertook to restore to them *Verona*, for the sake of the two hundred thousand Crowns. And thus the Reader may perceive, that all the Emperor's fine Proposals to our King, relating to the procuring him *Milan*, and getting him elected Emperor, vanished in a Trice.

Whilst the different Princes in *Europe*, concerned with *England*, were busying themselves about their Temporal Affairs, the Council of *Lateran* continued their Session, without answering the End they seemed

to be called for; since that Council meddled neither with the *Reformation of the Church*, nor with the *Extirpation of Heresy*: Yet, that they might seem to do something, they fell upon *reforming** the *Kalendar*, which was become very faulty; and for that Purpose the Pope caused Memorandums to be drawn up, and wrote to all the Christian Princes, inviting them to send their *Astronomers* to *Rome*, or at least to order them to examine what had been proposed on the said Subject: And we find, in the Collection of the *publick Acts*, the Brief addressed to *Henry* the VIIIth, wherein the Pope says, “ He had adjourned the next Sessions “ to *December*, in order to give the *Mathematicians* “ Time to send in their Opinions.”

THE EMPEROR, before the last Year was expired, accepted and ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*, because it was to bring him a round Sum of Money; and for the same Reason he concluded a Truce with the *Venetians*; and with joint Consent they submitted to leave all their Matters in Difference to Arbitration. On the 15th of *January* he made a new Agreement with them; whereby it was settled, that the Truce should be enlarged for five Years. This being done, the Emperor actually received the Money provided by the Treaty of *Noyon*; and restored the City of *Verona* to them upon this further Condition, that they should, during the Truce, pay him yearly 20,000 Crowns.

There is another Reason assigned for *Maximilian's* agreeing with the *Venetians*, which was, as Lord *Herbert* asserts, “ The Emperor could not trust Cardinal *Wolsey*, in respect to obtaining Money from “ his Master;” which we think is highly to the Cardinal's Honour, considering what sort of a Part *Maximilian* had hitherto acted. A third Reason his Lord-

VOL. II.

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* How much soever the Church might want Reforming, or *Heretics* extirpating, it is certain the

Regulation of the *Kalendar* has been of infinite Service to *Europe* in general.

ship assigns is this, "He was quite tired with War." Indeed, for very good Cause, the Princes of *Europe* were quite tired with supporting him with Money; and therefore, if he had carried the War on further, in all Probability it must have been solely at his own Expence, which his Revenues would by no means enable him to do. The Affairs between the Emperor and the *Venetians* being thus concluded, *Italy* had an immediate Prospect of enjoying Peace, which, however, was interrupted for a Time, through the following Occasion. The Duke of *Urbino*, having been deprived by the Pope of his Dutchy last Year, thought this a proper Time to assert his Right, and recover it by Force of Arms; but did not hold his Possession long, before he was attacked by the united Forces of the Pope and the King of *France*, which soon so far reduced him, that he gladly accepted of the Proposals made to him, and signed an Agreement, whereby his Dominions were ceded to the Pope, and he retired to *Mantua*, where we shall for the present leave him.

The War with the Duke of *Urbino* furnished the Pope with a Pretence to send to the different Princes of *Europe* for Succours; particularly he wrote a Letter to *Henry* the VIIIth, desiring his Assistance against his Enemies and those of the Church, dated at *Rome*, *June* 20th; he also sent circular Letters to the Bishops of *England*, commanding them to raise an entire Tenth upon their Clergy, in order to help him to support the War of *Urbino*; and likewise a Bull, appointing Cardinal *Wolfey* his Collector, empowering him therein to excommunicate all that refused to pay, and even deprive them of their Benefices.

Whilst the Pope was thus employed, he discovered a Plot formed against his Life; but he had the good Fortune to get into his Possession the principal Actors, amongst whom was his great Favourite, *Hadrian*,

Hadrian, Bishop of *Bath*, his former Collector in *England*; but the Particulars of this Conspiracy we shall refer for a while.

To sum up the Affairs of *Italy*, in respect to the War that had been carried on there, since the Treaty of *Cambray*, by the *Venetians*, great was the Joy of the whole Nobility and Commonalty of *Venice*,* for
Z z 2 that,

* As this Republick has made a great Figure in *Europe*, we shall here say something concerning those People. We are told, that they had not their Beginning from *Italy*, but came from the *Venetians* of *Gaul*, who dwelt on the Coasts of the *Ocean* Sea; but this Opinion was grounded upon the Name only, because those who possessed the *Adriatick* Gulph were, like their Neighbours, very much addicted to Sea-busines, as the *British* Subjects (Heaven be praised!) are at this Day. *Titus Livius*, on the other side, affirms, "That the *Venetians* are descended from *Paphlagonia*; and that, their Captain being dead at *Troy*, they came with *Antenor* into *Italy*." *Cassio* thinks the *Venetians* are descended from the *Trojan* Race. *Cornelius Nepos* imagines, that the *Venetians* were so named in *Italy* of the *Henetians*, who inhabited the Town of *Cromna*, near *Paphlagonia*. Others have written, that this Nation was a Neighbour to the *Cappadocians*, and made War upon the *Cimmerians*, and afterwards came into the *Adriatick* Sea. But some think, they possessed a little Town near to *Amastra*, and that they passed several Tracts of Land to meet

with the *Henetians*. In short, most Authors seem at last to agree, that they did come from *Paphlagonia*, which *Xenodeus* did not only maintain, but thought, that the City of *Amisa* was the same which was afterwards called *Henisa*. However, those who so think bring as a Proof, the industrious Care both these Nations had to breed Horses and Mules, according to the Testimony of *Homer*, who says, "And from the *Henetians* came strong Mules." *Strabo* maintains, that the best Mares came from the *Venetians*, both for Pace and Swiftnes; so that the *Venetians* will have it, that the *Henetians* came into *Italy* with *Antenor*, and were afterwards, by changing a Letter, called *Venetians*: And whatever they afterwards conquered or possessed they called it *Venice*, which is the pleasantest Part of *Italy*. Some have confined this Country with the Rivers *Po* and *Adda*, the Lake of *La Guarda*, the *Alpes*, and the *Adriatick* Sea. *Pliny* comprehended in the East Side thereof *Aquileia*; but *Strabo*, on the contrary, cuts it off. This Nation is environed on the South Side by the calm Circuit of Sea, which makes it capable of receiving all manner of foreign

that, after so long and dangerous a War, attended with so many Calamities and Expences, they had recovered to their Dominions so principal a Member, esteeming the Reward of the War far above the Burthen and Charges of it. Most of the Writers say concerning this War, that the *Venetians* had expended, since the League of *Cambray*, five Millions of Ducats, 500,000 whereof they levied on the Sale of Offices. *Lastly*, the Inhabitants of *Verona* rejoiced no less than the *Venetians* at this Change, as did also all the other Cities subject to their Commonwealth, hoping now to be delivered from the many Afflictions which so long and cruel a War had thrown upon them.

Arms being thus laid aside, the *Venetians* enjoyed three Years Peace, and, that their People might taste the Fruits of it, they took off those Taxes that were imposed on them during the War.* They also ordered, that those, who had served the Commonwealth during that Period, and had not been paid their Wages, should be punctually paid. They likewise re-established the University of *Padua*,† which had been shut up for
above

reign Merchandizes. It is moreover watered with most pleasant Rivers, by which all that comes from the Sea are easily transported into the different Provinces. It was said, that the Election of their first *Doge* was in the Year 697, since which the Power of the *Doge* hath often varied; in-somuch, that at last it dwindled into an empty Title, void of any Authority. This Republick has four principal Councils: 1st, The Nobility. 2d, The 120 *Pregadi*, chosen out of them, of which the Senate is composed. 3d, The *Doge* and his 25 *Assessors*. 4th, The Council of *Ten*.

* Glorious Example this!

† The antient City of *Padua* is seated in the midst of a spacious Plain, in a Province belonging to *Venice*, called *Marca Tri-vigiana*, having the Sea at 20 Miles distant on the *East* and *South* Parts thereof; on the *West* a large Champion Country, and on the *North* the Mountains *Ex-ganei*. It is of a triangular Form, invironed with double Walls and very deep Ditches; and the *Venetians* from time to time have greatly strengthened it, by almost immense Walls and Bulwarks built according to modern Fortification.

The

above eight Years. In short, every thing had now a good Aspect at *Venice*, and Peace and Plenty begun to flourish, which induced them to send Ambassadors to the *Ottoman Porte*, to *Henry King of England*, *Charles King of Spain*, and other Princes, in order

The Palace, or Hall of Justice, in this City, is certainly, according to all Accounts, the fairest and most spacious of *Christianendom*: 'Tis covered with Lead, and round about goes a stately Corridor of Marble.

Near the Palace stood the Schools for all Learning, which consisted of ten Colleges. This Pile of Building was the second Marvel not only of *Padua*, but of *Europe*: Within was a square Court; the Building two Stories high, sustained with most fair Pillars; and in every Corner were the Arms of all such as have been Consuls or Protectors in that University; some in Colours only, some in Colours and Stone, with their Country, Name, and the Year set up; all done at the *Venetians* Charge, to make famous this Nursery of Learning.

The *Anatomick* Theatre, erected in those Schools, stands above, is most neatly contrived, and very commodious both for the Professor and the Spectators.

This University was once as the Market-place of Learning, and approached the nearest to the Academy of *Athens*, in the Esteem of the Learned; and consequently to this Place, from all Parts of the World, thronged the most eminent in all the Liberal Sciences, and no small Number of the Nobles, as Scholars, not only from all Parts of *Italy*, and

its neighbouring Provinces, but from the farthest Parts of the *Christian* World.

In the ten Colleges, were allowed honourable Pensions to many Scholars; to describe them would take up more room than can be spared here.

In the Palace of the Bishop these Things are worth a Sight; the most ample Diocese of *Padua*, drawn in a large Square by *Marco Cornaro*, once its Bishop, a Prelate worthy of eternal Memory; and a great Hall, where to the Life (as is believed) are drawn the Pictures of 112 Bishops of this most antient and noble City.

At present this famous University is stripped of its former Lustre, (by the late Wars, and the Death of so many learned Professors who had with high Reputation filled her Chairs) her Students being reduced from 12 or 13,000, their ordinary Number, to 430; and of the ten Colleges, or publick Schools, there is only one remaining, called the College of the Ox. See *Monsieur Blainville's Travels in Italy*, &c. p. 445.

Between the Church *del Santo*, and that of *San Giustina*, is situated the *Physick Garden* filled with every Thing that is curious, and planted in the Year 1546, at the Cost of the Students in *Physick* and *Philosophy*, for the

order to settle a friendly Intercourse with the different Kingdoms of *Europe*, hoping thereby to retrieve the Trade of their Subjects, which had been so long interrupted

more commodious Search into the Nature and Vertue of every Medicinal Herb and Tree. The chief Care and Custody of this Garden is always committed to some excellent Doctor in Physick, who frequently reads publick Lectures to the Students on the Nature and Use of every Thing therein. In the last Age, *Melchior Guilandino, Giacomo Antonio Cortuso, and Prospero Alpino*, three excellent Professors, underwent this Charge; as likewise the learned *Giovan-*

ni Westlingius, or Westlingius, a Knight, and *Anatomy Reader* in the University: A Man allowed so great an Esteem for his excellent Knowledge, that he was become the Admiration of that Age.

A worthy and noble Person of our Nation, being casually at *Padua*, at the Promotion of certain *English* Gentlemen to the Degree of Doctors, and who had been an Auditor at some of his Lectures, composed these ensuing Verses upon *Anatomy*.

*Learned Westlingius, had we but the Art,
To tell the Treasures of the nobler Part;
And could the Soul's high Pow'rs describe, as well
As you, the Palace where that Queen does dwell,
In her Anatomy my Muse might find
Praises proportion'd to your knowing Mind;
To whose great Art and Industry we owe,
That all the Wonders of our Frame we know.
For not the Inventory we alone,
Of ev'ry Nerve, Vein, Artery and Bone,
Receive from thence; but are instructed too,
What the wise Maker has design'd them to:
The great Importance of the slender String
And use of ev'ry (seeming useless) Thing:
As if our first Creator you had seen,
Or had of Council with Prometheus been,
That all the Plagues, which his rash Brother threw
On wretched Man, might have their Cure from you.*

It's certain the Study of *Botany* was one of the earliest we read of, (See *Dr. James's Dict. Letter B.*) and, as it's esteemed the Pillar of Medicine, we are not a loss to account why the *Venetians* encouraged so useful a Science, by taking care of, and support-

ing their *Physick Garden*, which, no doubt, induced *Lewis* the XIVth of *France*, who was a great Favourer of the Arts and Sciences, to cause an *Herbal* to be engraved at his own Expence.

And here we cannot forget how greatly our Country is indebted

rupted by the Continuance of the War.

But, before we quit the *Venetians*, we must not here omit to take notice,

The Doge writes to Cardinal Wolsey.

that the Doge wrote at this time a very respectful Letter to Cardinal *Wolsey*, wherein he acknowledged the many Favours that the Republick had received from his Royal Master, and concluded his Letter with telling his Eminency, "That the high Promotion he had obtained was owing to his Personal Merit, and great Abilities."

Francis K. of France, tho' he had great Reason to be dissatisfied with his Holiness's Conduct towards him, never ceased courting his Friendship, in hopes thereby to stay him from secretly endeavouring to rekindle a War in *Milan*, which might possibly end in losing that Dutchy. After several Schemes for that Purpose, he at last imagining he had found an infallible Means to attach the holy Father to his Interests, proposed to *Lorenzo de Medici*, the Pope's Nephew, a very advantageous Match with *Magdalene*, Heiress of the House of *Bologn*. This Proposal was very agreeable to *Lorenzo*, and accordingly accepted of, who repaired to

Paris,

debted to the learned Sir *Hans Sloane*, for the noble Present he made to the *Apothecaries Company* at *Chelsea*, of a Spot of Ground, and a handsome Building for Green-Houses, &c. In the Ground they have planted a most noble Physick Garden, and richly stored the Green-houses with all manner of Exoticks, &c. of which Mr. *Rand* has the Inspection, and Mr. *Miller* is the head Gardener. How far it equals that at *Padua* we leave to the Learned in that Study to determine. And, to make this grand and useful Design as compleat as may be at present, Sir *Hans Sloane*, Dr. *Mead*, (who, as we are inform-

ed, was educated at *Padua*) and others eminent in the Faculty, with the Royal College of Physicians in *London*, have greatly encouraged the Undertaking and Publication of an *Herbal* of the most useful Physick Plants in the said Garden, &c. engraved on Copper-Plates as big as Life, with their Roots, Stems, Leaves, Flowers, Fruits and Seeds, curiously drawn, engraved and coloured by the ingenious Mrs. *Blackwell*; to which is added Explanations, with their Names in different Languages, and the proper Seasons of Blowing, &c. The kind Reception this Work has met with at Home, as well as Abroad, is well known.

Paris, where he married the Lady in the Presence of his Majesty, the Duke of *Bourbon*, &c.* Here we find he stood Godfather, in the Pope's Name, to the Dauphin, who was named *Francis*, and born the beginning of this Year. The Pope, as an Acknowledgment for

* As this Prince will make a considerable Figure in this History, we hope it will not be unacceptable here to introduce a short Account of him. *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Constable of *France*, was the second of *Gilbert*, Duke of *Montpessier's* three Sons, descended from the only Branch of *Bourbon*, which was unfortunate; for his Father, the Duke, lost his Life in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where *Charles* the VIIIth had left him Viceroy: His eldest Brother expired with Grief upon his Father's Tomb: (See Vol. I. p. 217, &c.) And the youngest was killed at the Battle of *Marrignan*, in the Year 1515. As to the Constable, he appeared at Court when *Claudia* of *France* was married to *Francis* the 1st, in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIIth; and the Tournaments, Matches, and Divertisements, much in Vogue at that Time in *Europe*, gave him an Opportunity to signalize his Strength and Activity: But it was his Misfortune, in despite of himself, to be the Object of the Countess of *Angoulême's* Affection, who, upon her Son, King *Francis's* Accession to the Throne, had a great Share in the Administration of publick Affairs.

This Prince early took notice of *Bourbon's* rare Endowments, which rendered him worthy to be beloved; for the Historians say,

that he was extremely beautiful, discreet, liberal, and valiant; nor did his frank Humour, which much resembled that of the ancient *Gauls*, hinder him from being successful in all manner of Intrigues; for, tho' he was very open, yet he governed himself so well in all Negotiations, and delivered what he had to say with so much Art, that he baffled the Designs of the most refined Politicians. The Sweetness of his Manners acquired him the Love of the *French* Nation, and the exact Discipline he kept among his Soldiers gained him the Esteem of his Enemies. In short, every thing seemed to conspire to his Conquests and Grandeur, (as if *Fortune* had been unavoidably bound to follow him) for, from his first bearing Arms, the *French* had been victorious wherever he was, and were vanquished wherever he was not. And the Historians positively aver, "That he was
" beholden only to his own De-
" serts for the Dignity of Con-
" stable: That he wanted no-
" thing to accomplish him for
" the Hero of his Age, but a
" little more Complacency for
" the King's Mother, who loved
" him; or a little less Resent-
" ment for the Injury she did
" him, when she saw herself
" slighted or neglected by
" him."

for the King's Favour to his Nephew, granted him a Power to levy the Tenth upon the Clergy in his Dominions, under Colour of making Preparations for War, to oppose the *Turks*; but he took care to assign out of it 50,000 Livres, to defray the Charges of the Wedding. Notwithstanding all this, his Holiness could not help expressing his Uneasiness at the *French* having so large Possessions in *Italy*; but it was not now a proper Time to take any Step to dislodge them, having other Affairs of greater Consequence depending.

In the Year 1515 we left *Scotland* in a very unhappy Situation. *Alexander Hume* and his Brother, upon their Arrival in *England*, were commanded by the King to stay at *Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, till they should know his further Pleasure. Queen *Margaret* had been some time in *London*, where she was treated with great Distinction and Respect, both by their Majesties and the whole Court.

In the mean time the Duke of *Albany* was very much concerned at the Flight of such great Personages, and, to prevent their making an Impression on his Majesty to his Prejudice, he sent a special Ambassador into *England*, with a Commission to defend him against any Reflections, touching his Conduct in *Scotland*. This Ambassador, in an Audience of his Majesty, assured the King, that the Regent had done nothing to induce the Queen, or the Nobility who had retired out of *Scotland*, to fear any ill Treatment in case they had staid at their own Court; and that both her Majesty and her Followers were at Liberty to return to *Scotland*, and enjoy their Estates the same as before. The Ambassador also, in the Duke's Name, desired a Truce with *England*, and, to shew the Sincerity of the Regent's Intentions, he told the King, that the Duke was ready to come into *England* in Person, to pay him his Devoirs. This Com-

plaisance induced him to consent to a Truce with Scotland, which was afterwards prolonged to the End of this Year.

However, the *Humes* in particular did not accept of the Terms offered by the Ambassador, but continued in *England*.

The States, upon their Assembling, being informed thereof, commanded *Alexander* to appear before them, who not appearing, they condemned him, and confiscated his Goods: Notwithstanding this, thro' the Persuasion of his Friends, he was at last induced to surrender himself to the Regent, was carried to *Edinburgh*, and put in Custody of the Earl of *Arran*, his Sister's Husband, who was to be deemed a Traytor, in case he let him Escape: But *Hume*, upon this, persuaded *Arran* to escape with him, and form a Party, in hopes of getting the Government into their Hands.

When the Regent heard this he went to the Earl's Castle, and forced it to surrender in two Days. In the mean time *Hume* was not idle, for he pillaged the Country round about *Dunbar*, and burnt and destroyed great part of the Country.

In the Spring of the Year, 1517, *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, whose Mother was the Earl of *Arran*'s Sister, joined the Rebels with some Forces; but, before any great Matters were transacted, at the Intercession of Friends, the Regent was induced to pardon both the Earls and *Hume*; and thereupon they all returned to Court. But *Alexander Hume* could not rest here, for it was not long before he was plotting new Mischief, which being discovered, *Alexander*,* with his

* Tho' this great Man met with so unfortunate an End, yet the Name and Family was not lost in Scotland; for one of his Descendants was created Earl of *Hume* by King *James* the 1st of

England; and this Title is now enjoyed by the present Right Honourable *William Hume*, Earl of *Hume*, who is also of this Family, and no small Ornament to that as well as his Country.

his Brother *William* were condemned to suffer Death; which was accordingly executed on them, by cutting off their Heads, and placing them upon the most conspicuous Parts of the City of *Edinburgh*, as a Terror to others: And thus *Alexander Hume*, one of the most powerful Men in *Scotland*, unhappily lost his Life.

Alexander left three Brothers behind him, who all met with various Misfortunes. *George*, for Murder, lay as an Exile in *England*; *John*, Abbot of *Jedburgh*, was banished beyond the *Tay*; *David*, the youngest, fell into an Ambush, and was killed, tho' much pitied by all, being an innocent, hopeful young Gentleman.

When Calamities had thus pursued and almost ruined the Family of the *Humes*, it was remarked, that Calamities also fell to *John Hepburns's* Share, a professed Enemy of theirs.

After these different Proceedings the Affairs of the State soon became more quiet, which induced the Regent to bring the King from *Sterling Castle* to *Edinburgh*. Soon after this he had an Inclination to take a Tour to *France*, which was very much opposed at first by the Nobility, tho' at last they consented to it: But, before he set out, he committed the Government of the Kingdom, in his Absence, to the Archbishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Glasgow*; the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Argyle*, and *Huntley*, and *Anthony Dacry*; a Frenchman, Governor of *Dunbar*.

As soon as the Duke Regent was embarked for *France*, Queen *Margaret* departed from *London*, highly satisfied with her Brother's generous Treatment, and was met at *Berwick* by her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, who conducted her to *Edinburgh*, where she was joyfully received by the People.

The Lord Deputy of *Ireland* continued very active to repress the Incursions of the wild *Irish*, and, to shew he was as well qualified for War as for Peace, invaded *Italy*, and

Affairs of
Ireland.
1517.

slaw *Slaney O' Toole* in Battle, and sent his Head to the Mayor of *Dublin*. From *Imahy* he marched into *Ely O'Carol*, where he was joined by the Earls of *Ormond* and *Desmond* with new Strength, and they besieged and took the Castle of *Lemevan*, which he ordered to be demolished. Then they attacked and took the Town of *Clonwell*; after which the Deputy closed the Campaign, and returned in Triumph to *Dublin*, where he was received in great State, about the End of *December*.

It was observed, that the credulous *Irish* had great Expectation of Advantage this Year, by reason of a blind Prophecy generally believed among them, *That the Poorest and Weakest should become the most Powerful and Warlike*. It's probable, that this might provoke the Lord Deputy to make the last Expedition. However this may be, *Cox* remarks, "That Superstition and fond Belief have been often fatal to the *Irish Nation*."

The Deputy, in the beginning of the Year 1517, marched at the Head of his Army into *Ulster*, and took the Castle of *Dundrian*, which had done great Injury to the *English*. Thence he marched against *Fylemy Macgenis*, whom he conquered and took Prisoner. Then he marched into *Tyronne*, and took and destroyed the Castle of *Dungannon*. But the Citizens of *Dublin* had not so good Fortune; for a Company of them marching to make an Incurſion into *Imahy*, they met with more Resistance than they expected, and were glad to return to *Dublin*, throw down their Arms, and take up the Trades they were bred to.

The kind Fortune that attended the Deputy had so good an Effect, that *Ireland* was reduced to a quiet Condition before the Year 1517 expired.

*The Turks much
enlarge their Em-
pire.*

During the Time the *European* Princes had been busy in warring with each other, the *Ottoman Porte* was every Day adding,





EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. I.

Parr sculp

adding new Dominions to their Empire, having the last and this Year conquered *Grand Cairo*, besides all *Suria* and *Egypt*: Infomuch that Victory attended them wherever they came; and, as there were no Princes capable of withstanding their Arms in the *Eastern* World, it was given out, that the *Porte* intended shortly to turn their Arms, in order to make further Conquests in *Europe*. These Accounts could not but alarm the *Christian* Princes, whose Interest in general, according to all Appearance, was that of opposing, especially on this Side the Globe, the Progress of so formidable an Enemy; and this induced the Emperor *Maximilian*, (who continued fond of Treaty-making) as he had shut himself out of *Italy*, by his late Agreement with the *Venetians*, to repair to his Grandson *Charles's* Court, in order to concert Measures with that Prince in Person, for the better Preservation of *Christianity*, against the Infidels; and afterwards to pass into the Empire, to consult with the *German* Princes on the same Occasion.

In the Month of *March*, the Emperor arrived at his Grandson's Court in *Flanders*, where they expressed great

The Emperor arrives at King Charles's Court.

Joy at seeing each other, and soon set on Foot a Negotiation, in order to form a League against the *Turks*: This they communicated to the Kings of *England* and *France*, requesting them to join in so pious a Defence, which was calculated, as they alledged, for no less End than that of preserving their *holy Religion* against *Infidels*, and the two Kings soon signified, by their Ambassadors, their Readiness to come into such Treaty. In short, the Treaty was first signed between the Emperor, *Maximilian*, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, wherein they left room for the King of *England*, which he soon after supplied.

When this grand Affair was effected the Emperor took a suitable Leave of his Grandson, and

set

The Emperor set out for *Germany*, where he employed
passes into his Time in stirring up the *German* Princes
Germany. to join in a League against the *Turks*:

In the midst of these Proceedings we shall leave the Emperor big with the Imagination of putting a Stop to the Progress of such unwelcome Neighbours.

The King of Spain *Charles*, King of *Spain*, was still
grants Cardinal carrying on his Preparations in order
Wolsey a Pension. to pass into his new Kingdom; but,
 as he had observed the high Esteem

Cardinal *Wolsey* was in with the King of *England*, he first particularly distinguished him, by writing a very respectful Letter to him; and, that it might not be attended with good Words only, he was pleased to grant him a Pension of 3000 Livres. The Grant is dated at *Ghent*, *June* the 8th, 1517, wherein the young King calls him, *Our most dear and special Friend*.

All Things being settled on the Side
King Charles of *Flanders*, King *Charles*, having made
lands in Spain. his Aunt *Margaret*, Dutchess of *Savoy*,
 Governess of the *Low Countries*, set out, the latter end of *July*, for *Spain*, embarked at *Middleburg*, attended by a Fleet of eighty Sail; and, on the 13th of *August*, landed at *Villa Viciosa* in *Asturias*, where he was nobly received by the Gentry; yet he was greatly surprized at the uncouth Customs of the *Spanish* Nation; for they affected a proud Singularity and peculiar Obstinacy in observing the old Forms and Disciplines, being above receiving Instructions from any other Nation, looking upon all others with Contempt. But *Charles*, though young, had so much Prudence as to conform himself to their odd Ways, by putting on an uncommon Gravity; yet he could not help shewing a singular Regard to his *Flemish* Subjects that attended him, which gained him many Enemies: However, by Means of the vast Revenues, accruing to the Crown from the *Indies*, he had it in his Power to support his Friends, and draw his Enemies to his Interests.

From *Villa Viciosa* he passed to *St. Vincente de la Barquera*, where he continued some Days. Cardinal *Ximenes* was then very much indisposed at the Monastery of *Aguilera*, and, there having been some Difference between him and the Council, they had left him; but his Majesty, as soon as he heard of it, ordered them to attend him again, which they did. In his Way to *Valladolid* the King visited his unhappy, distracted Mother* at *Jurdesillas*, near *Valladolid*. He sent two Letters, one to the Cardinal, and another to the Council, ordering them to meet him at *Majados*: That to the Cardinal runs thus:

“ *My Lord Cardinal,*

“ I hold on my Journey by Way of *Jurdesillas*,
 “ whereof I thought fit to advertise you, that you may
 “ come to *Majados*, the Bishop of *Segorges*’s House,
 “ where I desire to see you, and to receive your
 “ good Counsel, not only for the Conduct of my
 “ Estate, but the ordering of my Family, which I
 “ will regulate according to your sage Advice. This
 “ is the last Help I can receive of you in my Affairs,
 “ for your long Services deserve Repose, your Age
 “ requires it, I grant it willingly, and advise you to
 “ retire to your House, to enjoy Repose with more
 “ Pleasure. God alone can give you a just Recom-
 “ pence for your long Travels in the Conduct of this
 “ Kingdom. As for me, I shall never forget them,
 “ and will ever pay you the Respect due from a
 “ good-natured Child, to a careful and bounteous
 “ Father.”

This

* This Princess lived 50 Years a Widow, always in perfect bodily Health, being 73 Years old when she fell sick, and died the 11th of *April*, 1555. She was so impatient and mad, that all her Servants were quite tired out. A few Days before her Death she is said to have

come to herself, and made a pious End. Her Family was in a miserable poor Condition, as the Marquis of *Dinia*, who had the keeping of her, acquainted King *Charles*, which indeed, says a *Spanish* Historian, is a great Reflection on him.

This Letter shews *Charles* (though he was as much obliged to the *Cardinal*, as to him who gave him the Crown of *Spain*) soon forgot the Services of this grand Minister, which fully confirms the Proverb; *That Services under the Great are not Inheritances*. It is affirmed, that the Letter made such an Impression on the *Cardinal*, that the Fever, which he was then affected with, was so heightened, that it soon brought him to his Grave. Some *Spanish* Writers relate, that the Courier, who carried the Letter, finding the *Cardinal* very ill, delivered it not, but carried it back to King *Charles's* Council, and delivered it to *Adrian*, his Majesty's former Preceptor. Others affirm, that he received it on his Death-bed, called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, to answer it, had writ three or four Lines, but, his Strength failing him, the Pen dropped out of his Hand, and, falling back in his Bed, instantly expired, which happened on *Sunday*, the 9th of *Nov. 1517*, in the 80th Year of his Age, having worn the Mitre of *Toledo* 22 Years, and governed *Spain* as many, under *Ferdinand*, *Isabella*, *Jane*, *Philip*, and *Charles*.

*General View of
his Life.*

Historians say, as the *Cardinal* perceived he was upon the Brink of Eternity, he made an End answerable to the Station of Life he had lived in, and, to sum up our Account of him, the Reader may view him in a Friar's Frock, in the Pomp of a *Cardinal*, in the solitary Retirement of an Hermitage, attended with Legions of armed Men, praying in a Cloister, judging on a Throne, begging Alms, bestowing Provinces on Princes in Distress, dead to the World, living in it with Content, and buried in a Monastery, to obtain a glorious Resurrection. *Fortune*, the Mistress of mundane Vicissitudes, waited on *Ximenes*, as a Page-errant, thro' the Solitudes of Convents and Cloisters,

into

into the glorious Splendor of Palaces and Sovereign Courts.

As to his Person, he was tall and strait of Stature, serious in Look, carrying in his Face natural Gravity; his Voice was

*Of his Person
and Qualities.*

masculine and firm, his Visage long and meagre, his Forehead large without Wrinkles; middling Eyes, somewhat deep set in his Head, but very lively; his Nose long and Aquiline; his Teeth jutting out a little towards his Lips, which gave the Courtiers occasion, in Raillery, to call him the Elephant: But in this they spoke more Truth than they thought for; he must needs have been an Elephant in Strength, who sustained the Weight of so many Affairs. He expressed himself in a very few Words, but handsome and significant; his Answers were clear and intelligible; and, when he discoursed of any Business, he never strayed from the Point. What he once resolved on, he executed with incredible Promptitude.

Salust had taught him that Lesson, which he would often repeat, *That nimble Execution ought to tread on the Heels of deliberate Resolutions.* He took the utmost Delight in bestowing Benefices in his Gift on Persons capable, who sought them not, nor knew of the Vacancies; the Way to obtain Promotion from him was not to beg it of him. One of his Almoners had Advice of a Vacancy very convenient for him, but fearing that, if he asked the Cardinal for it, he might probably bestow it on some other, he presented himself to his Master, and spoke thus: "My Lord, such a Benefice is void, to desire it of you were to violate your Laws, and the Prohibitions you have made on that Behalf, which I will never do, nor came I to that Purpose, but humbly to crave your Directions how to obtain it." The Cardinal liked his Address, and answered, "You shall have the Benefice;" and accordingly gave

it him: Nor did ever Man serve him, in or out of his Family, that was not largely rewarded.

God made Man free, Fortune hath robbed him of that Liberty when reduced under the Servitude of Great Ones, who are guilty of ravishing from him what is most precious, his Liberty and his Time, unless they restore them the Fruits of the one and the other, by way of Recompence, in ample Rewards, which alone can repair the Loss of this latter, being irrecoverable.

To conclude, such was the Life, and such were the Actions of *Francis Ximenes*, (surnamed, for the Effects of his Prudence, the Cardinal of *Spain*) that his Counsels are to this Day observed in that Kingdom, and his Virtues serve the World for Directions in almost every Station of Life. He was buried in his College at *Alcala*, in a Tomb of White Marble, and his Effigies on the same is still to be seen, with the following Epitaph.

CONDIDERAM MUSIS FRANCISCUS GRANDE
LYCÆUM
CONDOR IN EXIGUO NUNC EGO SARCOPHAGO,
PRÆTEXTAM JUNXI SACCO, GALEAMQUE
GALERO,
FRATER DUX, PRÆSUL, CARDINEUSQUE PATER,
QUIN VIRTUTE MEA JUNCTUM EST DIADEMA
CUCULLO?
CUM MIHI REGNANTI, PARUIT HISPERIA.

Thus in *English*:

I Francis, that had erected a grand Structure for the Muses, am now confined in a narrow Grave. I joined the Robe to the Hair-cloth, the Helmet to the Hat, the Fryar to the General, the Prelate to the Cardinal-Priest.

*Why was not the Diadem, by my Virtue added to my Cowl?
When I reign'd, Spain obey'd without Controul.*

At *Majados* the Council met the King, and, on the 18th of *Nov.* he made his solemn Entry into *the Spanish Council attend their new King.* *Valladolid*, where he conferred the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, vacant by the Death of *Ximenes*, on *William de Groy*, Bishop of *Cambray*; and, before the Year expired, *Adrian* was made a Cardinal. To this Place Ambassadors attended on his Majesty from all the Courts of *Christendom*, to congratulate him on his happy Arrival in *Spain*; but the *French* Ambassador had it also in Commission, to demand the Restitution of the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albert*, Son of the deceased King: To which *Charles* answered in general Terms, "That that Matter should be soon taken into Consideration." At *Christmas* there was extraordinary *Tilting* and *Feasting*, according to the Custom of those Days: But these Sports soon ended with a Plague, which broke out at the Conclusion of this Year, and carried off abundance of People.

King *Charles*, by the Accession of *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to his other Dominions, became a very powerful Prince, and every Day he gave fresh Proofs of his great Abilities; so that the World begun to think, that the better Part of *Europe* and *Africa* might in Time throw themselves at his Feet: And here we shall leave him improving himself in the Knowledge of Government, and settling his Domestic Concerns.

Now his Holiness had no less taken the Alarm, than the other *Christian* Princes, at the growing Greatness of the *Turks*; therefore, as the Emperor, and the Kings of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, had entred into a League for their mutual Defence, and that of *Christendom* in general, this gave him the Opportunity of putting in Execution his Project for raising Money from the *Christians*, which was the Fore-run-

The Pope publishes a Crusade against the Turks.

ner of one of the most surprizing REVOLUTIONS, that ever happened since the *Christian* Religion was planted in *Europe*, even that of the REFORMATION. His Holiness, as an Encouragement for *Christians* to contribute on that Occasion, granted them plenary Indulgences, and caused them to be sold at so moderate a Price, that a Man must have been very careless of his Salvation, not to purchase them. That the Monies, arising from the Sale of these Indulgences, might be regularly collected, all *Christendom* was divided into so many Divisions; and in each were appointed Collectors, and Preachers to extol the Benefit of Indulgences, which extended even to the Dead, whose Souls, on paying so much Money, were to be immediately redeemed out of *Purgatory*.

Guicciardin affirms, " That the Power of releasing " Souls out of *Purgatory* was openly payed for in " Taverns." The People had likewise, by these Indulgences, the Liberty of eating Eggs, and *white Meat* on Fast-days.

The Archbishop of *Mentz* had his Part of *Christendom* assigned him, for appointing Preachers, which was *Saxony*; and for that Purpose he appointed the *Jacobins*; whereas, in the former *Crusades*, the *Augustin* Fryars had been employed; so that they thought themselves neglected, and much injured, and even publicly complained of it; but all to no Purpose, the Archbishop persisting in his first Appointment.

The *Augustins*, finding the Archbishop obstinately bent in employing the *Jacobins*, began to enquire into the Authority the Pope had for granting these Indulgences; and *Martin Luther*, one of that Order, published several Pieces, containing many satyrical Remarks on them, which being approved of by the whole Order, they publicly ridiculed both the Collectors and Preachers.

The first Occasion of the Reformation.

As

As *Luther* had a great Share in the *Reformation*, and as his Doctrines are held in high Estimation in several Parts of *Europe*, and his Followers even at this Day called *Lutherans*, we shall here make a short Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of this Great Divine.

Martin Luther was born at *Illeben*, in the Earldom of *Mansfield* in *Germany*, in the Year 1483, being the Son of *John* and *Margaret Luther*; the Family-estate lying at *Mansfield*, *John* was chosen a Magistrate, and was honoured for his Integrity of Life. *Martin* was first educated under *George Emilius*; at 14 Years of Age he went to *Magdeburg*, where he lived a poor Scholar one Year; from thence he was removed by his Parents to *Isernaek*; from thence, in the Year 1501, to the University of *Ersford*, where he profited so much in the Knowledge of Learning, that the whole University admired his Genius. At 20 Years of Age he was made *Master of Arts*, *Professor of Physick, Eticks*, and other Parts of *Philosophy*. Then he betook himself to the Study of the *Law*; but at the Age of 21 (being greatly surprized at the violent Death of a faithful Companion, whom he dearly loved) he retired into the College of *Augustin* Fryars at *Ersford*, and soon became one of their Order.

The Original and Life of Martin Luther.

In the Library of that College he met with a Copy of a *Latin Bible*, with which he was highly delighted; he also read over *Augustin's* Works; but, falling sick, an old Priest attended him, who often said, *Be of good Cheer, your Disease is not mortal; God will raise you up to afford Comfort to many others.* The Priest also discoursed with him about *Justification by Faith*, and explained the Articles of the Creed.

Luther, when recovered, diligently read the Schoolmen, especially *Occamus*,* in which Studies he spent five;

* Esteemed an eminent Writer among them.

five Years. In 1507, he was made *Presbyter*: And *John Starpicious*, endeavouring to promote the University of *Wittenberg* (then lately founded) knowing the Learning of *Luther*, induced him to remove thither in 1508. He was sent to *Rome*, on the Behalf of the Convent; and the Writers of his Life relate, that he took a Dislike whilst he was there against the *Roman* Clergy, and that, upon his Return, he was pleased to say, “*At Rome I heard them say Mass, in such a Manner as I detest them for: At the Communion Table I heard Courtizans laugh and boast of their Wickedness.*” Then, speaking concerning the Bread and Wine of the Altar, he said, “*Bread thou art, and Bread thou shalt remain; Wine thou art, and Wine thou shalt remain.*”

Soon after this, he was made *Doctor in Divinity*, at the Charge of the Elector of *Saxony*, who heard him preach, and admired the Soundness of his Doctrines, the Strength of his Arguments, and the Excellency of the Language he used. He next proceeded to explain the *Epistle to the Romans*, and some *Psalms*, wherein he shewed the Difference between the Law and the Gospel, refuted *Justification by Works*, &c. And some of the Authors, who have spoke concerning him, say further, “*That his Demeanour agreed with his Doctrine; his Speech seemed to flow from his Heart, not from his Lips only.*” He also studied *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which were called the *New Learning* in those Days.

By *Luther's* opposing and writing against the *Indulgences*, he drew upon himself many Enemies, which put him on searching more narrowly into the Reason and Authority of those Indulgences, and was at last convinced (as it was said) there was no Foundation for them in the *Holy Scriptures*; and, being reflected upon, for making this Opposition, and even by many called a *Heretick*, he published a Paper, in his own Justification, to the following Effect: “*I*

“*Martin*

“ *Martin Luther*, Doctor of the Order of *Hermits*
 “ at *Wittenberg*, would have it publicly testified,
 “ that I have set forth certain Propositions against the
 “ Pope’s Indulgences, as they call them ; but, albeit
 “ our famous and worthy School, nor the Civil nor
 “ Ecclesiastical Power have hitherto condemned me ;
 “ yet, as I hear there are certain Men of violent
 “ and bold Wit, who dare to pronounce me an *Here-*
 “ *tick*, as if they thoroughly understood the whole
 “ Matter, I beseech every one, as I have often done
 “ before, by the *Christian* Faith, that they either shew
 “ me a better Way, if it be revealed by God to
 “ any of them, or else let them submit their Sen-
 “ tence to God and his Church’s Judgment ; for
 “ neither am I so rash, that I would have my Opi-
 “ nion alone to be preferred before all others, nor
 “ so dotish, that I would have the *Word of God*
 “ be placed after Fables devised by human Rea-
 “ son.”

Pope *Leo* at first did not much regard either *Luther*’s Writings, or the Protestation he had set forth, not imagining, that a single Fryar could prejudice the Papal Authority, but continued to sell his *Indulgences* ; and *Luther*, on his Part, wherever he came, took all possible Pains to ridicule them ; on which Occasions he earnestly exhorted the People to search the *Scriptures*, by which he insisted the Pope had no Authority for issuing those *Indulgences* ; and therefore advised the People to reject them, as not warranted by *God’s Law*, which ought to be preferred before any human Invention. Hence sprung the *Reformation* ; which spread itself through *Germany* and several other Parts of *Europe*.

His Holiness, on the Occasion of carrying on the War against the *Turks*, writ to *Henry* the VIIIth, exhorting him to promote this good Work, and therein highly commended him for his constant Zeal for the

His Holiness
 writes to *Henry*
 the VIIIth.

the *Holy See*, and the Extension of the *Faith*; concluding his Letter with requesting the King to advance 200,000 Ducats, in order to be made use of in the intended religious War.

Henry returned an Answer in general Terms, thanking the Pope for the Encomiums bestowed on him, and expressing

his Readiness to do every Thing in his Power to assist against the *Infidels*, as becoming a true Son of the Church, when Occasion required, in Conjunction with other *Christian* Princes; but said but little about parting with his Money.

“ A Man must, as *Rapin* observes, wilfully have shut his Eyes, not to see that the *Crusade* was made use of only as a Pretence to fill the Pope’s Coffers;” who also avers, “ That the Reason, *Henry* did not come into the Pope’s Measures, was owing to the present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*; for that *Henry* had no great Occasion for the Pope.”

We are glad to find *Rapin* here admit, that the King was so prudently upon his Guard, as not to be prevailed on too readily to part with his Money, which must certainly be owing to the Advice given him by his Minister *Wolfey*, according to Monsieur’s former Assertion, *that he solely directed his Master in every Thing.*

The Beginning of this Year a Tumult happened in *London*, arising from some of the *Citizens* and the poorer Sort of the People taking an Offence against *Foreigners*, who had got several of their Customers from them, greatly, as it was said, to the Prejudice of the Natives and Freemen of the City; which induced one *John Lincoln*, a Broker, to be very active in the Matter, by endeavouring to stir up the People against *Foreigners* in general.

Affairs of England.

1517.

A Tumult begun at London.

The

The Way he took was this, on *Palm Sunday* he repaired to Dr. *Standish*, (the same Gentleman who had very lately given Offence to the Clergy) telling him, as he heard he was to preach the *Spittal Sermon*, on *Monday*, in *Easter-Week*, he begged him to set forth therein the many Hardships the Citizens suffered, from Strangers being employed in their Stead: But the Doctor told him, it was not proper for him to meddle with those Matters in his Discourse, and therefore refused his Request. Upon this *Lincoln* attended Dr. *Beal*, who was to preach on the *Tuesday*, and made the like Request: The Doctor promised he would comply with it, and accordingly kept his Word, which greatly encreased the People's Prejudice against Foreigners.

In the mean Time one *Bard*, a Lombardian, enticed away the Wife of a wealthy Citizen, and prevailed on the merry disposed Lady to bring several of her Husband's Effects with her, both which he refused to restore when demanded, but arrested the Husband, and obliged him to pay for the Wife's Board. Upon this Complaints were made to the Privy Council; but sufficient Notice was not taken thereof, in order to curb the Insolence of those Strangers, which made them still more daring; insomuch, that *Bard*, being in the Royal Gallery at *Richmond*, with some Foreigners, made a Jest of keeping an *Englishman's* Wife, and one of them answered, That, had he the Lord-Mayor's Wife, he would serve him in the same Manner, which more and more exasperated the Citizens Ill-will to Strangers in general.

On the 28th of *April*, a Parcel of young Men quarrelled with some Strangers, as they passed along the Streets, and beat and abused them terribly, for which two of them were sent to Goal. On a sudden it was rumoured among the Citizens, that they would destroy all Foreigners.

Foreigners on *May-day*, which coming to the Knowledge of the Ministry, Cardinal *Wolsey* sent for Sir *John Rest*, the Lord Mayor, and demanded of him, *How the City was?* To which his Lordship answered, *That it was well and quiet*; Nay, said the Cardinal, *we are informed, that your young People will rise and destroy the Foreigners residing among you.* No, surely, rejoined the Mayor; *for I trust so to govern them, that the King's Peace shall be preserved, and that I dare undertake, if I and my Brethren, the Aldermen, may be permitted so to do.* Then go Home, said *Wolsey*, and wisely look after this Matter, and, if any Ill is intended, take care to prevent it.

The Lord Mayor returned from the Cardinal, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, on the 30th of *April*, and demanded of his Officers, *What they had heard?* Some of them answered, *That the Voice of the People was against Foreigners, and had been so for two or three Days before.* Upon this the Mayor sent for the *Aldermen* to attend him in *Guild-hall*; but it was almost seven of the Clock before they met.

A Court of Aldermen called.

Mr. Serj. *Brooke*, the Recorder, opened the Occasion of their Meeting, by telling them, "That the King's Council had heard, that the Commonalty intended to rise, and destroy the Strangers residing in the City." The Aldermen said, "That they had heard so, but did not believe it, though it was very well to be provided against the worst." Then the Recorder proposed to raise a large Force from among the Housekeepers, others objected against it; and some proposed to issue an Order, that every Man should shut in his Doors, and keep his Servants within, which was approved of. With this Resolution the Recorder attended the Cardinal for Advice, and then it was 8 o'Clock; the Cardinal also approved of

of it, and ordered him to see it put in Execution, adding, *That each Housekeeper should be enjoined not to suffer his Servants to go out till seven next Morning.* The Recorder, having received this Advice, repaired, with Sir *Thomas More*, (who had accompanied him,) to *Guild-hall*, when it was near 9 o'Clock, and the Mayor and Aldermen were still sitting there, who, hearing what the Cardinal had advised, each of the Aldermen returned to his Ward, and gave Directions to the Housekeepers, "to shut their Doors immediately, and not suffer any of their Servants to stir out till seven the next Morning."

After this Sir *John Munday*, one of the Aldermen; finding two young Men playing at Cudgels, and several looking on, ordered them to leave off and go to their respective Habitations, which they not obeying, he commanded one of them to be sent to the Compter; whereupon the others cried, *Apprentices and Clubs!* which instantly drew together so many stout Lads armed, that the Alderman thro' much Difficulty escaped with his Life. *Lincoln* immediately headed them, broke open the Compter, and let out the Prisoners committed for Rioting. Sir *Thomas More* attended the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who made Proclamation, requiring every Man to return to his Place; but that would not do, the Tumult was got to too great an Height; and therefore his Lordship was obliged to have recourse to Arms. In the mean while the Rabble fell upon the Foreigners wherever they could find them, killed some, and used others in a very cruel Manner; broke open their Houses, and destroyed their Effects.

The Cardinal having Notice of this Uproar, by Means of Sir *Richard Cholmondeley*, Lieutenant of the Tower, about 5 o'Clock in the Morning, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Surry*, and others entered London with

*Suppressed by the
Citizens.*

a considerable Force ; but, before they arrived, the Lord Mayor had suppressed the Insurrection, and taken 300 of them Prisoners, among which were several Boys not 15 Years old, and *Lincoln* their Leader.

*Lincoln and o-
thers tried and
found guilty of
Treason.*

Then several of the Prisoners were examined, and Dr. *Beal's* Sermon was brought upon the Carpet, which, as judged by many, greatly encouraged the Tumult. However, a Commission immediately issued for trying these weak People, and, on the 4th of *May*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surry*, and others coming into the City, with a Guard of above 1300 Soldiers, the Court was opened at *Guild-hall* before the Lord Mayor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other great Personages, before whom *Lincoln* with twelve more were tried and convicted of *High Treason*, and were immediately ordered for Execution, on which *Lincoln* spoke to the Court.

My Lords,

Lincoln's Speech.

*I meant well, and you know the Mis-
chief that has attended the Nation thro'
Foreigners, of which I have complained, as you well know,
several times, but was only called a busy Fellow. I know
I shall suffer, and the Lord have Mercy on me !*

On the 6th of *May*, *Lincoln*, with *Sherwin*, and two Brothers, named *Betts*, were drawn on Hurdles to the Standard in *Cheapside*, where *Lincoln* was executed ; but the other three, just as the Ropes were putting about their Necks, were reprieved.

During this Time there was a large Body of Forces doing Duty in the City ; but, as soon as this Execution was over, they were dismissed, Orders being given to stop further Proceedings against the Rioters for the present, and a Proclamation was issued,

issued, as *Hall* tells us, for the Women to be kept asunder, to prevent their Babbling and Talking, and their Husbands were enjoined to keep their Wives at Home: But this Historian does not tell us, whether the good Women in those Days obeyed their Husbands Commands.

On the 11th of *May* the King came to his Palace at *Greenwich*, where he was attended by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London*, dressed in black Gowns, who, being introduced to his Majesty, kneeled before him; and the Recorder, Mr. Serj. *Brooke*, made the following Speech to the King.

The Lord Mayor, &c. admitted to an Audience of the King.

“ *Most Gracious Sovereign,*

“ We know well that your Majesty is displeased with your City of *London*, on the Account of the great Riot that has lately happened there. We assure your Majesty, that none of us, nor none of the substantial Citizens were aiding or assisting in this great Offence; tho’ we, our Wives, and Children, every Hour lament, that your Favour should be removed from us: And, forasmuch as it was transacted by light and idle Persons, we most humbly intreat your Majesty, to have Mercy on us, and shew Compassion to the heedless Offenders, for their late Misconduct.”

The Recorder's Speech.

“ Truly, replied the King, you have highly displeased and offended Us, and you ought to bewail and be sorry for the same; and where you say, that you, the substantial Persons, were not consenting to this Transgression, it appears to the contrary; for you did not move to prevent the Ill, which makes Us think you winked at the Matter. However, at this Time, We will neither grant you our Fa-

The King's Answer.

“ your or Good-will, nor the Offenders Mercy. We
 “ refer you to the Cardinal, our Lord Chancellor, who
 “ will let you know our Pleasure.”

*The Lord Mayor,
 &c. attend Car-
 dinal Wolsey.*

On this they attended on the Cardinal, who received them kinder than they expected, when they begged he would intercede with the King on the Behalf of the City, and the poor unfortunate Prisoners; all which, after a proper Admonition, he promised to do,* and then dismissed them.

*His Majesty sits
 in the Court of
 King's Bench.*

On the 13th of May the King came to Westminster-hall, attended by the Cardinal, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Earls of Shrewsbury, Essex, Wiltshire, and Surry, and many other Lords, (though honest Monsr. *Rapin* would persuade his Readers, that they had all quitted the Court and were got into the Country) and took his Seat in the Court of *King's Bench*: Immediately after appeared the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the chief Citizens of London, richly habited in their Livery Gowns; and then were brought into the Hall above 300 Prisoners in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, ranged in Rows, some of which were little Boys about thirteen Years old, with their Fathers, Mothers, and Relations, following them to the Hall, bemoaning their Condition. Upon this

The Cardinal opens the Affair.

the Cardinal opened the Occasion of the King's sitting in Judgment, reprimanded the Mayor and the other Magistrates, for not taking greater care of the Peace of the City, and to the Prisoners he declared, they justly deserved Death. Then all the Prisoners cried to the King for Mercy, the Cardinal with the other Lords interceded

* This shews, that Cardinal not, as some would insinuate, *Wolsey* had a great Regard for an Enemy to that great and the Citizens of London, and was honourable Body.

ceded in their Behalf, and his Majesty was pleased to grant their Request by pardoning them, which was no sooner made known to the Prisoners, than the Hall rung with their Shouts of Joy : Whereupon they were set at Liberty, and his Majesty, with his Nobles, retired. This Pardon had so good an Effect, that the Peace of the City was immediately restored, the Traders carried on their Handicrafts and Shop-keeping as usual, which the Tumult had interrupted ; and the Citizens, for some time after, called the *first of May, Evil May-day*.

One Circumstance at this Juncture was humorous enough, several Offenders, who had not been taken, hearing that the King was inclined to shew Mercy to the Prisoners, took the Opportunity, as they passed on, to strip themselves to their Shirts, and, having Ropes tied about their Necks, got into the Hall with the Prisoners, where they likewise obtained the King's Pardon ; among whom was *John Gelson*, who was one of the first Promoters of the Riot.

The Peace of the City being thus restored, and his Majesty at Peace with all the neighbouring Princes, the Cardinal, through his Master's Encouragement, further attended the improving Arts and Sciences ; though the Trade and Commerce of the Nation was not forgot ; insomuch, that every good Subject rested himself contented, as it were *under his own Vine, and under his own Fig-tree*.

In the Beginning of the Month of *June*, his Majesty caused a grand *Just* to be prepared for the Entertainment both of himself and the foreign Ambassadors, in which our young Monarch appeared against the Duke of *Suffolk* (who came to attend the King at this Sport) having each twelve Noblemen and Gentlemen of a Side, richly habited according to the Custom of those Times.

His

His Majesty, attended by Gentlemen Armourers and other Officers, to the Number of 125 Persons, cloathed in white Velvet, first entered the Ring on one Side, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorset*, the Earls of *Essex* and *Surry*, with several others of his Band, entered on the other ; then the Trumpets blew, and the King and the Duke immediately engaged, and ran fiercely at each other, whilst the other Parties were no less active ; and such was the Pastime of the Day, according to the Report of Sir *Edward Guilford*, Master of the Armory, and of the Judges and Heralds in waiting, that there were no less than five hundred and six Spears broken. The Sport being over, his Majesty entertained the Ambassadors and his Court with a sumptuous Supper ; proposing to continue these Jufts, at proper Times, during the Summer, which were then looked on as the most healthy Exercise in being.

But his Majesty was soon interrupted in his Intention, for, before *June* was expired, there broke out among the People a Distemper, called the *Sweating Sickness*, which made great Ravage in the Kingdom, especially in *London*. It was otherwise termed the *Sudor Anglicanus*, or the *English Sweat* ; “ which carried off,” says Lord *Herbert*, divers Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers of the King’s Courts, particularly Lord *Clinton*,* Lord *Grey of Wilton*, and others

From this Nobleman the late Right Hon. *Henry*, Earl of *Lincoln*, was descended, who was Paymaster of the Forces in the Reign of *George* the 1st. His Lordship married *Lucy*, Sister of his present Grace, *Thomas*, Duke of *Newcastle*, by whom he had Issue two Sons, *George* and *Henry*, besides Daughters. The Earl died the 7th of *Sept.* 1728, and

his Countess the 20th of *July*, 1736 ; and his Lordship was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by *George*, his eldest Son, a young Nobleman just arrived at Age, who gives room for great Expectations. The Title of Lord *Clinton* is now enjoyed by the Right Hon. *Hugh Ferris*, who was called up by Writ to the House of Lords on the

“ others of Quality.” In some Places it took away a third, in others half the People. This Plague continued from the latter End of *June* to *December*, during which Time the Judges adjourned the Term, and his Majesty kept no Court, but was only attended by his own Family and his Prime Minister, *Wolsey*; and *Hall* says, *he much lamented the Affliction that thus attended his People.*

No sooner did this infectious Distemper cease, but it was succeeded, as *Stow* relates, by so great a Drought, that it did not rain from *December* to *May* following, and the Frost was so hard in the Winter, that Horses and Carts passed over the Ice between *Westminster* and *Lambeth*.

While these Calamities raged Sir *Thomas More* was pitched on for an Ambassador to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy's* Court, to execute a Commission on the Part of our Sovereign. Of this and other Affairs he advises his old Friend *Erasmus*, in the following Letter :

THOMAS MORE to ERASMUS.

“ The Reason why you receive mine, and some
 “ other Letters, much later than I could wish, or
 “ you ought to have received them, was, the De-
 “ parture of our *Palgrave*, who was every Day ready
 “ for a Journey, tho’ delayed by some Accident or
 “ other; for I thought him the properest Person to
 “ carry you my Letters, who had brought me yours;
 “ so that it was necessary to send these after the for-
 “ mer, that you might see the Reason of the Delay,
 “ and know how at present it is with us, who are now
 “ in the midst of the greatest Troubles and Dangers,
 “ many People every where dying, and almost all at
 “ *Oxford, Cambridge, and London* being ill within a
 VOL. II. D d d “ few

the 16th of March, 1521, having the Satisfaction of his Majesty
 ing first made out his Claim to and the House of Lords.

“ few Days, and a great many of our best and most
 “ worthy Friends dead, among whom is our Friend,
 “ *Andrew Ammanius*, whose Death I am concerned to
 “ think will be an Affliction to you also, as Learning
 “ and all good Men will have a very considerable Loss
 “ in him. He seemed, in his own Opinion, to be very
 “ well guarded against the Infection, by his temperate
 “ Way of Living, which he thought was the Reason that,
 “ as scarce any Person had this Illness, but the whole
 “ Family had it also at the same time, his whole Family
 “ had before escaped it ; which he boasted of to me,
 “ and many others, not many Hours before he died :
 “ For no one dies of this *Sweat* if he survives the first
 “ Day he is seized with it. I, my Wife, and Chil-
 “ dren, have escaped it hitherto, and all the rest of
 “ my Family are got well again : And this I assure
 “ you, that there is less Danger in the Country than in
 “ the City. This Distemper, as I am informed, is
 “ now beginning to rage at *Calais*, at a Time when
 “ we are obliged to go thither upon an Ambassy, as
 “ if it were not sufficient for us to have lived in the
 “ Infection, but must follow it also : But, as in every
 “ Thing in which we are engaged, we must submit
 “ to whatever shall befall us, I have composed my
 “ Mind to all sorts of Events. I, with you your
 “ Health. I write in haste.
 “ *London, Aug. 19.*”

Soon after the writing this Letter he proceeded on his
 Ambassy to *Flanders* ; and, when he had fully executed
 his Master's Commands, he returned to *England*. Hav-
 ing acquitted himself much to the King's Satisfaction,
 his Majesty was pleased to offer him a Pension, which
 he refused, and the Reasons he assigned for it he sets
 forth in another Letter to his Friend *Erasmus*, in
 which he says,

“ When I returned from my Ambassy to *Flan-*
 “ *ders*, the King's Majesty would have given me a
 “ yearly.

“ yearly Pension, which surely, if we would respect
 “ Honour and Profit, was not to be a little esteemed ;
 “ yet have I hitherto refused, and think I shall refuse
 “ it still, because I should be fain to forsake my pre-
 “ sent Means, which I have already in the City of
 “ *London*,* (and I esteem that more than a better)
 “ or else I must keep it with some Dislike of the Citi-
 “ zens, between whom and his Highness if there
 “ should happen any Controversy, as sometimes it
 “ doth chance, about their Priviledges, they might
 “ suspect me as not sincere and trusty to them, in
 “ case I should be obliged to the King for an annual
 “ Stipend.” †

* Senior Judge of the Sheriffs Court.

† This Letter shews Sir *Thomas More*’s Prudence, and how
jealous the Citizens of *London*
 have early been in respect to
asserting and *maintaining* their
 Rights and Priviledges against all
 Incroachments ; and, to their Ho-
 nour, it must be acknowledged,
 that they have, on several impor-
 tant Occasions, firmly asserted
 theirs and their fellow Subjects
 Liberties, against the Designs
 of some who would have invaded
 them in the most sensible Part ;

and it will be great Pity, (be-
 cause her Destruction must inevi-
 tably ensue) if she should ever
 deviate from this plain, good,
 old Path. And we are not with-
 out hopes, that, notwithstanding
 this our great Metropolis and
 the whole Nation are at present
 but too sensible of the great
 Decay of Trade, and Growth
 of Luxury, they will revive in
 the one, and abandon the other :
 So, with our most earnest De-
 sires, that All may strive to for-
 ward this glorious Work, we
 shall conclude our *Second Volume*.





I N D E X.

- A**
Abbots, mitred, entertained by *Wolsey*, Page 290.
Aberdeen, Earl of, 198.
Abergavenny, Lord, 175.
Abbatis, *Michael*, his Contract, 284.
Acts, passed in the first Parliament of *Henry* the VIIIth, 75
— in the 2d, 115 — in the 3d, 207 — in the 4th, 142 — in the 5th, 260 — in the 6th, 267.
Act, passed in the Parliament of *Ireland*, 274.
Act, for electing a Lord Justice of *Ireland*, 253.
Adrian, Preceptor to *Charles* of *Austria*, is sent into *Spain*, to take Care of his Master's Interest, 306 — demands an Audience of *Ferdinand*, *ib.* — is at last admitted, 307 — produces Letters Patents from his Master to the Council of *Castile*, constituting him Regent in his Absence, 309 — but admitted as Joint-Regent only, *ib.* — made a Cardinal, 371.
Admiral's Ships, two burnt in one Action, 125.
Africanus, *Scipio*, 38.
Agent to the Pope, 117.
Albany, Duke of, 270 — chose Regent of *Scotland*, *ib.* — uneasy at the K. of *England*, *ib.* — writes sharply to the Pope, *ib.* — his Father banished, 271
— employs *Hepburne*, Bishop of *Murray*, *ib.* — slights Lord *Hume*, *ib.* — siezes on the young King, *ib.* — swears Allegiance to him, *ib.* — sends Ambassadors to *Henry*, *ib.* — and to treat with the Fugitives, 272 — engaged in a Conspiracy against *England*, 339 — sends a special Ambassador to *Henry* the VIIIth, 361 — obtains a Truce with *England*, *ib.* — the *Humes*, with the Earls of *Arran* and *Lennox*, rebel against him, 362 — pardons them, *ib.* — fresh Plots against him by the *Humes*, *ib.* — restores Peace, 363 — brings the King from *Sterling-Castle* to *Edinburgh*, *ib.* — commits the Government to a Regency, and returns to *France*, *ib.*
Alliance between the *Swiss* and *France* expired, 60.
Alliance between the *Scotch* and the *English* more natural than with *France*, 118.
Alexander, King *James* of *Scotland's* natural Son, 197.
Albert, *John d'*, King of *Navarre*, sends Forces to recover his Dominions, under the Command

I N D E X.

- mand of the famous Marshal, *Peter Navarra*, 310 — which are defeated, 311 — He and his Queen die of Grief, *ib.*
Alexandria, garrisoned by the French, 160.
Albert, Henry 2^d, to have the Kingdom of *Navarre*, 350 — that Kingdom demanded of Spain for him, 371.
Albige, Sir Thomas, 176.
Alfred, King, his Custom of calling his Nobles, with the Rise of the Courts of Justice, 294.
Alston, Lord, his Descent, 176.
Alpes, border on *Venice*, 355.
Alva, Duke of, 120 — at *Logrogne*, 121 — his Reason for not attacking *Bayonne*, *ib.* — besieges *Pamplona*, 122. — subdues *Navarre*, *ib.* — takes *St. John del Pie del Puerto*, 123 — lays siege to *Estella*, and carries it, *ib.*
Aviano, General, released, 159 — made General of the *Venetian* Forces, *ib.* — takes *Peschiera* and *Brescia*, 160 — dies, 278.
Altar, Bread and Wine of the, 374.
Alpino, Prospero, a famous Professor of Botany at *Padua*, 358.
Avicenna, 240.
Alcoran, burnt, 33.
Alps, Observations on the Troops raised on this Side, and those on the other Side, 54.
Alexander the Great, 38.
Amboise, Cardinal of, his Death and Character, 57.
Ambrose, St. 287.
Amelia, Princess, 273.
Ammonius, 218 — his Letter to *Erasmus*, relating to *Wolsey's* succeeding Bishop *Warham* as Chancellor, 303 — an Account of his Death, 386.
Angels, taken by the *Portuguese*, 31.
Annus, Justinian's Speech to the Emperor, 38.
Augustine Agas, 172.
Andrew, Bishop of St. 197.
August, Earl of, 192 — Master of, 199.
Anne, Queen of France, 141, 154 — her Death and Character, 222.
Anchor, Shent, 261.
Annandale, Marquis of, 252.
Andrews, Prior of St. 271 — elected Archbishop thereof, *ib.* — forced to resign it, *ib.*
Andrews, Bishop of St. made one of the Regents of Scotland, 363.
Angouleme, Countess of, enamoured with *Charles of Bourbon*, Constable of France, 360.
Antenor, brought the *Pantheon* into Italy, 355.
August, Earl of, 270 — flies into England, 271 — returns to Scotland, 273 — made one of the Regents of Scotland, 363.
Apprentices and Clubs, 379.
Ap Thomas, Sir Rice, 176.
Apostles, Greek Testament written by them, 304.
Apothecaries, Company of, 359 — their *Physick Garden*, and *Green-houses* at *Chelsea*, *ib.*
Archers, appointed, 19.
Archbishops, their Privileges before *Henry the 2^d's* Reign, 322.
Arskine, Lord, 198.
Argyle, Earl of, 195 — killed, 197.
Argyle, Earl of, made one of the Regents of Scotland, 363.
Argyle and Greenwich, Duke of, 197.
Articles of the League of Muhlins, 158.
Articles against them, 209.
 Articles

I N D E X.

Articles exhibited against Dr. Standish, 320.
Arundel Castle, Privileges of it, 326.
Arran, Earl of, 270, 275 — in Arms against the Regent of *Scotland*; 262 — pardoned, *ib.* — and made one of the Regents, 263.
Arwater, William, succeeds *Wolsey* in the See of *Lincoln*, 241.
Astrologer, his Prediction relating to *K. Ferdinand* of *Spain's* Death, 307.
Astronomers invited to *Rome*, 353.
Augsburg, a Diet held there, 53.
Affine, Justices of, when constituted, 323.
Athol, Earl of, 198 — killed at *Flodden-field*, 199.
Athol, Duke of, 198.
Auseth, Cardinal *de*, Minister from *France* at *Rome*, 52 — imprisoned in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, 59.
Austin the Monk, his Ecclesiastical Constitution, 325.
Austrians, their Zeal for the Glory of the Queen of *Hungary*, compared to that of the *Venetians*, 63.
Austria, *Charles* of. See *Charles*.
Austria, *Margaret* of, 157.
Author of the History of the Common Law, 329.
Aubigny, Dutchy of, 197 — Lord of, *ib.*
Audley, Lord, 177.
Augusta, Princess, 273.
Augustins, General of, 289.
Augustin Fryar, 372.
Ayliff, Dr. his Account of the Pope's Bulls, 331, 332.

B

on the Pope not to give the Church Gallies to the Emperor, 44 — prevents the taking of the Pope in *Babuyan*, 69 — terrifies *Chaumont*, 70 — receives more than ordinary Respect from the Court of *Rome*, 78 — and Instructions to assure his Holiness how much the K. his Master was disposed to protect him, 79 — made a Cardinal, 83 — not invited to the Congress at *Mantua*, 89 — privy to the League signed by the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians* against *France*, 99 — *Rapin's* Reasons for his being advanced to the Cardinalsate, 105 — had Instructions to assist the *Venetians* in obtaining their Absolution, *ib.* — compliments *Wolsey* on his being made Dean of *York*, 107 — represents to the Pope what he must expect from *Scotland*, 119 — gives *Henry* an Account of what had passed in the *Lateran* Council, and of the Pope's Sentiments, in relation to the refractory Cardinals, 133 — writes a courteous Letter to *Wolsey*, 149 — his Letter to the King, 169 — another Letter to his Majesty from him, *ib.* — his Opinion of Cardinal *Hadrian*, *ib.* — his congratulatory Letter to *Wolsey* on the Success of the King's Arms, 188 — poisoned at *Rome*, 233 — his Education, Birth, and Character, 234 — his burying Place and Epitaph, 236 — justified upon Account of his not visiting his Diocese, 241 — not out in his Conjecture relating to Cardinal *Hadrian*, 289.
Baynbridge, Charles, 236.
Bajazet, the Grand Segnior, 64.
Basing, Lords of, 22.

Bastile,

- Bastile*, 335.
Balmarino, Lord, 198.
Bastards, Laws relating to, 330.
Baynard's Castle, a Council held at, 327.
Battle, Description of one, 162.
Baynard, Chevalier, 128, 130, 179.
Bailiffs of Oxford, suspended, 332—confess their Crimes, *ib.*—their Sentence and its Mitigation, 333.
Bard, a Lombardian, entices away a Citizen's Wife, 377—makes a Jest thereof, *ib.*
Barnars, Lord, 245.
Baker, Joan, 209.
Barotius, 239.
Barnaby, Thomas, obtained a Letter of Marque, 205.
Basil, Printing Press of, 218.
Beadles of the University exempt from Juries, 332.
Bembo, one of the Venetian Senate, 43.
Belfast, Castle of, 150.
Bellmont, Earl of, 335.
Bentivogli, 66, 68, 90, 91, 94, 137, 138.
Bedford, Earl of, 336—Duke of, *ib.*
Betts, two Rioters reprieved, 38.
Beaufort, Duke of, 204.
Beal, Dr. preaches against Foreigners, 377—his Sermon encourages a Tumult, 380.—*Bibli Cott. Vittel.* 284.
Bishop Elect, of Tournay, 264—opposes *Wesley*, *ib.*—obtains a Bull for restoring him to the Bishoprick, 266—Grows turbulent, *ib.*
Bickerstaff, Isaac, Esq; his Letter to Lewis the XIVth, 342.
Bishops, their Right to sit in Parliament discussed, 326.
Blackwell, the ingenious Mrs. 359.
Blainville, Mons. his Travels in Italy, 357.
Blessington, Lord Viscount, 335.
Black-a-Tour, Robert, Abbot of *Dumferling* in Scotland, 100.
Bohemia, King of, 272.
Botany, the Study of it established at Padua, 358—esteemed the Pillar of Medicine, *ib.*—is encouraged by Lewis the XIVth, *ib.*
Bobier, Thomas, 228.
Boyle, Lady Ann, 9.
Boleyn, Sir Thomas, Warden of the Exchange at Calais, 18.
Bologna, the People there struck with Consternation, 69—in Danger of being taken, *ib.*—they take up Arms for the Pope, 70—upon the Approach of the French Army rejoice and declare for the *Bentivogli*, 91—Garrison escapes, *ib.*—Citadel destroyed by the Inhabitants, 92—besieged, 127—succoured, *ib.*—restored to the Church, 138.
Bonby, Baron, 199.
Bones of Princes and Prelates moved, 269.
Bosworth, Battle of, 185.
Bothwell, Earl of, 198.
Booth, Sir John, 194.
Bourbon, Duke of, 246—made Constable of France, 276—his Descent and Character, 360.
Brandenburg, Marquis of, 50.
Brasiles, taken by the Portuguese, 31.
Brandon, Charles, Viscount Lisle, commands the Vanguard of Henry's Army at Turwint, 178—Duke of Suffolk, 204—his Character, 224—highly esteemed by Henry, *ib.*—beloved by the Princess, *ib.*—attended at the Princess's publick

I N D E X.

- ick Entry into Paris**, 246—
 behaves gallantly in the Tour-
 nament, thames all *France*, and
 brings the Prize from thence,
 247—sent Ambassadors into
France, 254—discovers the
 Queen's Affections for him,
 255—timorous in his Amours,
ib.—the Affair broached to
 him by the *K. of France*, 256
 —his Conduct on that Occa-
 sion, *ib.*—writes to *Wolsey* a-
 bout it, *ib.*—is married to the
 Queen, 257—writes again to
Wolsey, *ib.*—follows his Ad-
 vice, 258—is forgiven by the
 King, *ib.*—arrives in *England*,
 and goes to Court, *ib.*—is
 not for a War with *France*,
 283—advises the Conquest of
Scotland, *ib.*—entertained by
Wolsey, 290—indebted to the
 King, 315—his laudable Me-
 thod of retrieving his Credit,
ib.—recommended by *Maxi-*
milian to *Henry the VIIIth*,
 to have a Command in his
 Army against *France*, 345,
 382, 384.
Brandon, Sir William, 185.
Brantone, his Account of *Lewis*
 the XIIth's Tendernefs of his
 Queen, 222.
Brescia, 128, 129, 160, 278,
 348.
Brest, Harbour of, 166.
Breton, Andrew, murdered by
 the *Portuguese*, 100—his Son
 obtains Letters of Marque and
 Reprisal, 101—takes *Portu-*
guese and *English* Ships, *ib.*—
 Complaints against him, *ib.*—
 fights desperately, is taken, and
 dies of his Wounds, *ib.*
Brittany invaded, 124.
Brodalbin, John Campbell, Earl of,
 197.
Brooke, Lord Willoughby de, 120.
Brooks, Lord William, 184.
Brooke, Mr. Serjeant, Recorder
 of *London*, waits on Cardinal
Wolsey, 378—receives Instruc-
 tions from him, 379—his
 Speech to *Henry the VIIIth*,
 381.
Brotherton, Thomas, K. Edward
 the Ist's Son, 205.
Buchan, Earl of, 198.
Buchanan, George, his Account of
 the Warning given to *James*
 the IVth of *Scotland*, against
 engaging in a War with *Eng-*
land, 200.
Buda, Siege of, 335.
Buckworth, Sir John, 202.
Buckingham, Duke of, 2—com-
 mands the Right Wing of *K.*
Henry's Army near *Turwina*,
 178.
Bull, the Pope's, 124.
Bulleyn, Sir Thomas, 245.
Bulleyn, Anna, 248—stays in
France, 258.
Burg, Hubert de, 241.
Burlington, Earl of, 259.
Burner's Observation on the Case
 of *Empson* and *Dudley*, 10—
 on *Hun's* Prosecution, 210—
 his Account of *Wolsey's* Ad-
 ministration, 287—answered,
ib.—on the *Temporalities* of
Lincoln, 215—acknowledges
 his Ignorance in certain Points
 relating to *Temporalities*, 216
 —his Account of the Duke of
Suffolk, 258—his Remarks on
 the Dispute about Precedency
 between the Archbishops of
Canterbury and *York*, 318—
 replied to and confuted by
Harmer, *ib.* & sequenti.
Butler, Sir Pearce, 274.
Butler, Sir William, Lord Mayor
 of *London*, 290.

I N D E X.

C

- Cairo, Grand, in Egypt*, 32—
taken by the *Turks*, 365.
- Cornaro, Cardinal*, 42.
- Catherine, of Arragon*, though
Prince *Arthur's* Widow, 13—
still a Maid, 14—Reasons for
and against her Marriage with
Henry the VIIIth, *ib.* 15, 16
—the Marriage solemnized,
17—made Regent, 176—re-
sents *Wolfey's* Integrity, 189—
accompanies the Princess *Ma-
ry* to *Dover*, 244—entertained
by *Wolfey*, 290, 305, 320.
- Cambray, League of*, 51, to 54.
- Cambray, Bishop of*, preferred to
that of *Toledo*, 371.
- Campaign, ended happily for the
Venetians*, 50.
- Campaign, a Poem of Mr. Addi-
son's* so called, 131.
- Castilene, Steven, his Pennance*,
112.
- Canton, Swiss*, 135—*Grisons*, *ib.*
- Cardinals*, five at once desert the
Pope, 67—retire to *Milan*, 68
—issue out Writs for calling a
general Council at *Pisa*, 95—
take up their Residence at *St.
Dorin*, 96—appear at the
Council, *ib.*—one of them
dies, *ib.*—the four coldly re-
ceived by the Inhabitants of
Pisa, *ib.*—adjourn to *Mi-
lan*, *ib.*
- Carpi, Albert, Count of*, sent to
Rome, by *Lewis the XIIth*,
52—his Endeavours with the
Pope unsuccessful, *ib.*
- Cahir, Lord of*, 275.
- Cambridge, University of*, 212.
- Canterbury, Archbishop of*. See
Warham.
- Cæsar, Julius*, 184.
- Capel, Arthur, Lord*, 177—*Sir
William*, *ib.*
- Cardene, Madam*, 130.
- Carlisle, Earl of*, his Descent, 167.
- Carnegy, John*, 199. *James*, *ib.*
- Carrow, Sir John*, killed, 126.
- Carrow, Lord*, 175—killed, 176.
- Cassili, Earl of*, 198.
- Cathcart, Lord*, 199.
- Carrick of Bress, boarded and on
fire*, 126—burnt, *ib.*
- Cavendish, Lord*, 179.
- Caroline, Queen*, 273.
- Carolina, Princess*, 273.
- Caral, a Rebel*, 252.
- Carwood Castle, neglected*, 241.
- Cardigan, Countess of*, 259.
- Calais, Deputy of*, 338, 339.
- Camerosa, Earl of*, foments a Re-
bellion in *Sicily*, 310.
- Capadocia, the Venetians Neigh-
bours of*, 355.
- Castile, Philip, King of*, 335.
- Cardinals, Dignity of*, 289—
brought into great Estimation,
ib.—established Electors of
the Pope, *ib.*—raised higher
by *Innocent the IVth*, *ib.*—a
further Account of their Digni-
ty, 317—intituted by *St.
Peter*, *ib.*
- Carlisle, Statute of*, 329.
- Cavendish, George, his History of
Cardinal Wolfey*, 3, to 38—his
Account of a Controversy be-
tween the Archbishops of *Can-
terbury* and *York*, 317—his Ac-
count of the Disputes between
Warham and *Wolfey*, 319—
an honest Historian, *ib.*
- Chapel, Henry the VIIth's*, 102.
- Chandois, Duke of*, 182.
- Charles the Ist*, 133.
- Chancery Court, its Rise*, 294—
Antiquity thereof, 295—con-
firmed by Act of Parliament,
ib.—extends its Reputation, *ib.*
- Charles of Austria*, 184—returns
to *Lisle*, 186—affianced to
the Princess of *England*, 223—
broke

broke off, and Reasons why, 232 — takes upon him the Government of *Flanders*, 273 — makes his Aunt Governor of the *Low Countries*, *ib.* — embarks for *Spain*, *ib.* — arrives at *Villa Viciosa* in *Asturias*, *ib.* — surprized at the uncouth Customs of the *Spaniards* who received him, *ib.* — his Regard for his *Flemish* Subjects, *ib.* — conforms with their odd Ways, *ib.* — passes to *St. Vincent de la Barquera*, 367 — orders the Council to attend Cardinal *Ximenes*, *ib.* — in his Way to *Valadolid* visits his distracted Mother at *Pardefillas*, *ib.* — writes to the Cardinal and to the Council to meet him at *Majados*, *ib.* — his Letter to the Cardinal, *ib.* — confers the Archbishoprick of *Toledo* on the Bishop of *Cambray*, 371 — is congratulated from all Parts of *Christendom* on his Arrival in *Spain*, *ib.* — the Restitution of *Navarre* demanded of him, *ib.* — his Answer, *ib.* — becomes a very powerful Prince, *ib.* — sends *Adrian*, his Preceptor, to take care of his Interest in *Spain*, 366 — *Ferdinand* denies him Audience, *ib.* — admits him at last, 397 — is proclaimed King of *Spain* on *Ferdinand's* Death, 399 — grants Letters Patent to *Adrian*, his Minister, appointing him Regent of *Spain* in his own Absence, *ib.* — rejected, *ib.* — assures the Council of *Castile*, that he would speedily repair to *Spain*, *ib.* — recommends the Care of the Government to Cardinal *Ximenes*, *ib.* — writes a comforting Letter to Queen *Germana*, *ib.* — assures Prince *Ferdinand*

of his Tenderness for him, *ib.* — is made *Ximenes's* Enemy, which he then dissembled, *ib.* — the Queen his Mother incensed against him, 310 — *Sicilians* rebel against him, *ib.* — sends *Monteleon* with some Troops into that *Island*, who quell the Rebellion, *ib.* — solicited in vain by *Maximilian*, to engage against *France*, 348 — in a bad State, 349 — concludes a Treaty with *Francis* the 1st, 350 — agrees to marry *Francis's* Daughter, *ib.* — her Dowry, *ib.* — concludes an Alliance with *Henry* the VIIIth, 352 — grants a Pension to Cardinal *Wolsey*, 366.

Chaumont, Marshal, Governor of *Milan*, 46 — is joined by *Hannaw*, 56 — saves the Lives of the *Vicentines*, *ib.* — takes *Legnano*, 57 — receives the News of his Uncle the Cardinal *de Amboise's* Death, *ib.* — puts a Garrison into *Legnano*, 58 — returns to *Milan*, after having left Forces to secure the Emperor's Conquests, 59 — succours the D. of *Ferrara*, *ib.* — much embarrassed, 61 — watches the Motions of the *Swiss*, *ib.* — sends them Home, 62 — relieves *Verona*, 63 — puts a Reinforcement into *Ferrara*, 65 — slights the Pope's Excommunication, 68 — approaches to *Modena*, *ib.* — over-reached, 69 — terrified, 70 — draws his Forces near *Bologna*, *ib.* — retreats with Shame, *ib.* — his Excuse, *ib.* — marches to *Modena*, and finds the Emperor's Standard placed upon the Walls, 81 — retires to *Corregia*, 82 — falls sick and dies, *ib.*

Charles the 11d, K. of *England*,

I N D E X.

- Cholmondeley*, Sir Richard, 194—favoured by Henry the VIIIth, 203—receives a Letter from the King, *ib.*—is made Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 204, 379.
- Cholmondeley*, Earl of, 205.
- Chancellors*, Keepers of the King's Conscience, 294—their Privileges, 295—how long they hold their Office, 296—the Manner of Ordaining a Chancellor, *ib.*—his Qualifications, *ib.*—Oath, 297—Duty, and Jurisdiction, *ib.*
- Chancery*, Masters in, 295.
- Chelsea* Physick-garden, 359.
- Charing-Cross*, Palace of, 290.
- Chaplains*, King's, 295.
- Cbicele*, Archbishop of Canterbury, his Dispute with Kemp, Archbishop of York, 317.
- Church*, 299, 353.
- Ciacomius*, his Account of Modena, who poisoned Cardinal Baynbridge, 236.
- Citizens of London*, highly regarded by Cardinal *Wolsey*, 382—jealous of their own, and their fellow Subjects Liberties, 387.
- Circuits*, first appointed, 323.
- Clarence*, Duke of, 206.
- Clergy*, English, send Representatives to the Lateran Council, 132—hold a Synod, 267—refuse to grant the Pope a Subsidy, *ib.*—break up, *ib.*—make their Excuses to Henry the VIIIth, on Dr. *Standish's* Account, 321—put under the secular Jurisdiction, 322—not to be present in Judgment of Blood, 323—their Reply to *Standish*, 324.
- Clement*, Lord, 179—taken Prisoner, 180.
- Clifford*, Lord, 159.
- Clinton*, Lord, 384.
- Clerks*, (or the *Clergy*) how screened from the King's Justices before Henry the VIth's Reign, 322—their Exemptions taken away, *ib.*
- Clarendon*, Parliament of, 322—Statutes of, *ib.*
- Clergy*, first Suitors in Chancery, 295.
- Clergy*, Roman, 374.
- Colet*, Dr. prosecuted for an Heretick, 304—protected by *Wolsey*, *ib.*—his Rise, 305—made Dean of *St. Paul's*, *ib.*—Founder of *St. Paul's* School, *ib.*—leaves the *Mertons* Company Trustees to his Will, *ib.*—buried in *St. Paul's*, *ib.*
- Collier*, the Rev. Mr. 111—his Account of *Wolsey*, 147—his Observation on Dr. *Standish's* Case, 325.
- Cornwall*, Sir Richard, 120.
- Compton*, Sir William, 178.
- College*, Queen's, in Oxford, 234—*Corpus Christi*, 268.
- Commissioners* appointed by the Pope, 88.
- Commons*, House of, their Ceremonies at first Meeting, 73—Method of Proceeding to the Choise of a Speaker, *ib.*—their Representation against *Empson* and *Dudley* presented to the King, 74—free, 262, in what Sense they are said to be so, 263.
- Contrast* between *Levies* the XIIth and *Julius* the III. 94.
- Costar*, his Declamation, 250.
- Coste*, Hillar de, 223.
- Council of Pisa*, 67, 94, 96, 97, 267, 371, 377.
- Colonna*, General, commands the Pope's Army, 95—retires, *ib.*
- Compton*, James, Earl of Northampton, 179.

Compton,

I N D E X.

Compton, Spencer, Earl of Wilmington, ib.

Constitution, British, what, 261.

Colet, Sir Henry, Lord Mayor of London, 305.

Conquests in the Low Countries by the English, 287.

Common-Pleas Court, whence it sprung, 294.

Convocation, 325.

Company of Mercers, Trustees to Dr. Colet's Will, 305—discharge their Trust nobly, ib.

Coke, Lord, 329.

Common Law, Author of the History of the, 329.

Conspiracy against England discovered, 339.

Contract, Oliver-Cromwell's, with the Devil, 306.

Convocation of the Clergy, 320—exhibit Articles against Dr.

Standish, ib.—their Reply to his Answer, 324—fall under a Premunire, 325—dismiss Standish, 331.

Confederacy against England broken, 340.

Court de More, 294.

Cornaro, Marco, Bishop of Padua, 357.

Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, his Protestation, 326.

Cote, Lady Mary, 325.

Cox, his Remark on the Irish, 364.

Cornelius Nepos, his Account of the Venetians, 355.

Crompton, Sir William, made Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 253.

Grey, William, 80—Bishop of Cambray, made Archbishop of Toledo, 371.

Crusade, published by the Pope, 371—Collectors and Preachers appointed for it, 372—rediculed, ib.

Crown tampering with the Sheet Anchor of Freedom, 261.

Crawford, Earl of, 195—John Lindsay, Earl of, 197.

Cremona, City of, holds out for the French, 138.

Cromwell, Lord, 177.

Cromwell, Oliver, 299, 300.

Cromarty, Earl of, 200.

Cumberland, his Royal Highness William Duke of, 273.

Cumberland, Earl of, 259.

D

Dacres, Sir Thomas, sent into Scotland, 100.

Dacres, Lord, 194—behaved gallantly at Flodden-field Battle, 195.

Dauphin, born and baptized, 360.

D'Arcy, Sir Thomas, 102—arrives at Cadix, 103.

Darreis, Sir John, 296.

D'Arcy, Lord, 106.

D'Arcy, Thomas, Lord, 117.

Darius, King, 138.

Derwentwater, Earl of, his Descent, 170.

David, his Commands to Solomon with Respect to Joab, 173.

Darnley, Earl of, 272.

Derby, Earl of, 20, 175—his Descent, ib. & sequenti.

Decker, Sir Matthew, 175.

De la Motte, Monsr. 189.

De la War, Lord, 177.

Desmond, Earl of, joins the Lord Deputy of Ireland, 364.

Denmark, Princess Ann of, 272—its Conspiracy against England, 339.

Dialogue, between St. Peter and Pope Julius the IIId, 93.

Dijon, Capitulation of, 219—Treaty of compared to certain

tain Preliminaries, signed by Lewis the XIVth's Ministers, and rejected by himself, 342.
Doge of Venice's submissive Letter to the Pope, 44—opposes an Enterprise, 45—his Conduct not unworthy a Roman, 48—sends his Sons to Padua, ib.—the first who obtained that Title, 856, his Power, ib.—a respectful Letter sent by one of them to Cardinal *Wolsey*, 358.
Dowry, St. 96.
Dowrcay, Lord Prior of, St. *John*, 175.
Douglas, James, Earl of *Morton*, 197.
Douglas, Sir William, of *Glenberny*, 199.
Douglas, Duke of, 199.
Dashall Hospital, 216.
Drought, a great one after the Sweating Sickness, 385.
Drury, Sir Thomas, sent into Scotland, 180.
Drummond, Mr. his Account of the Scotch Nobility killed at Flodden-battle, 197, & sequenti.
Drummond, his Observations on the Government of a Woman and a Child, 270.
Drake, the learned Mr. 241.
DuRoiis, Gilbertus, his Epigram, 65.
Dublin, a Provincial Synod held there, 150—the Resurgence of one of its Mayors, ib.—its Citizens repulsed at *Irish*, 364.
Dugdale, 259.
Durham, the Bishop thereof for a War with France, 282—entertained by *Wolsey*, 290—has Power to judge of Life and Death within his own District, 323.
Butch have *Tourney* in their Pos-

session, 342.
Derfet, Marquis of, 103, 110—made Commander in chief of the English Forces thro' *Wolsey's* Means, 120—lands in Spain, and escapes near *Barataria* with a View to besiege *Bayona*, ib.—sends an Officer to the King of *Navarre*, 121—complains of *Ferdinand's* Delays, and holds a Council of War, 122—discovers his Insincerity, and refuses to follow his Orders, ib.—the Blame of not invading *Guinne* laid upon him by *Ferdinand*, ib.—his Soldiers mutiny, ib.—to prevent fatal Consequences the General said for England with his Army, 123—accompanies the King to France, 176—and Princess *Mary*, 245—her publick Entry, 246—his Letter to *Wolsey*, ib.—his Account of the Jufts and Tournaments at *Paris*, 247—carried away the Prize from the French Nobility, 348.
Drake, Mr. 241.
Dudley, Edmund, 4—cited before the Council, 6—indicted, 9—convicted of High Treason, 10—his large Fortane, 12—wrote a Book under Confinement, 12—his Charge laid before the House of Commons, 74—their Representations against him to the King, ib.—beheaded, 76—part of his Attainder reversed, 115—*John*, his Son, enabled to enjoy the Dignity of his Family, 116—made Admiral of England, and Duke of *Northumberland*, ib.—beheaded, ib.

E East

I N D E X

- East Indies*, Plantations settled there by *Emanuel* the 1st, King of *Portugal*, 31.
- Eccllesiasticks* put under the secular Jurisdiction, 322.
- Edward*, Dr. his Picture of the young King, 76—his Character of the Earl of *Suffolk*, 173.—and of *Wolsey*, 298—answered, 301.
- Edward* the 11th, King of *England*, 20, 298, 323.
- Edward* the 12th, 205.
- Edward* the 1st, 205—the *English Justinian*, 329.
- Edward*, Prince, 273.
- Edinburgh*, *Barrow Moor* of, 192.
- Effingham*, Lord *Howard* of, 193.
- Effingham*, Lord *Francis*, 194.
- Egerton*, *Scrip*, Duke of *Bridge-water*, 184.
- Egypt*, conquered by the *Turks*, 365.
- Elphinston*, Lord, 198.
- Electors*, Receivers of Bribes, 261.
- Electors* of the Pope, 289.
- Elizabeth*, Princess, 272.
- Ely*, Bishop of, dies, 330.
- Empson*, 4—cited with *Dudley* before the Council, 6—his Speech, *ib.*—answered by one of the Council, 7—indicted, 9—convicted of High Treason, 10—his fine House given to *Wolsey*, 13—the Charge against him laid before the House of Commons, 74—their Representation to the K. *ib.*—executed, 76—some Reflections thereon, *ib.*
- Emanuel* the 1st, King of *Portugal*, sends a Fleet to the *West-Indies*, which took Possession of the *Brazils*, 31—sends another to the *South*, whereby he possessed himself of *Conga* and *Angola*, *ib.*—his Character, 33.
- England*, Affairs of, 102, 112—Remarks on them, 114—Affairs of, 119, 143, 165, 189, 203, 258, 282, 315.
- England*, Great Seal of, 296.
- Encampments*, 122.
- Equity*, Court of, 295.
- Erford*, University of, 373.
- Errol*, Earl of, 197, 198.
- Erasmus*, comes into *England*, 23—his Epitaph on the Counts of *Richmond* and *Derby*, 21—a Dialogue between *St. Peter* and *Julius* the Pope, supposed to be written by him, 93—disowns it, *ib.*—pays his Respects to *Wolsey*, 217—Greek Professor at *Cambridge*, *ib.*—favoured by *Henry* the VIIIth, *ib.*—goes abroad, *ib.*—his Reasons for it, 218—writes to *Servetus* and *Ammonius*, *ib.*—soon returns, *ib.*—goes over again to *Basil* and writes to *Wolsey*, 303—his Account of the Cardinal's Conduct in reforming Vices and other Abuses, 316—receives Letters from *Sir Thomas More*, 385, 386.
- Essex*, Earl of, 19, 177—his Men get the better of the *French* in a Skirmish, 179—thanked by *Henry* the VIIIth, *ib.*—conducts the Messenger, who brought *Wolsey* the Cardinal's Hat, through *London*, 290.
- Essex*, another Earl of, 384.
- Estapes*, Treaty of, renewed, 77.
- Europe*, Prince of, tired with supporting the Emperor with Money, 354—alarmed at the Conquests made by the *Turks*, 365.
- Events*, extraordinary ones in *Italy* and *Navarre*, 140—their Causes, *ib.*

Evil May-day, 383.

Excommunication, 97, 118, 133,
201 — absolved from after
Death, 269 — not to be
granted without the King's Li-
cence, 322.

Exeter, College of, in Oxford,
269.

Exchequer exhausted, 315.

F

Fame, Ralph, 179.

Fair Modern, 257.

Ferrers, Lord, 120.

Foedera, Rymer's, 226.

Ferdinand, King of Spain, sends
15,000 Men under the Com-
mand of *Navara* to *Africa*, 72
— beats a large Body of *Moors*,
ib. — but, proceeding too far,
lost near 3000 Men, *ib.* — re-
turns to Spain, 73 — tho' tired
of *Moorish* Expeditions gives
out that he designs to go in
Person into *Africa*, *ib.* — begins
his old Game of serving him-
self, 79 — his Pretensions, *ib.*
— concludes a Treaty with
Henry the VIIIth, *ib.* — his
Ambassador caressed by the
Pope, 80 — courted to assist in
breaking the League between
the Emperor and *Lewis*, 81 —
engages therein, *ib.* — receives
the Investiture of *Naples*, and
holds with both Parties, *ib.* —
proposes the holding a Con-
gress at *Mantua*, 84 — his Re-
presentation to the Emperor,
ib. — writes to the King of
France, to send a Minister to
the Congress at *Mantua*, 86
— his Ambassador at *Mantua*
manages Affairs for Pope *Ju-
lius*, 87 — but, taking a Dis-
gust quits *Mantua*, 89 — un-
grateful to the King of Eng-

land, *ib.* — keeps a watchful
Eye on the Affairs of *Italy*,
and redoubles his Military
Preparations, 98 — His An-
swer in that Respect to the
French Ambassador, *ib.* — stir-
tled at the Pope's Resolution to
make a separate Peace with
France, *ib.* — his Fears of *Na-
ples*, *ib.* — the *African* Expe-
dition no more talked of, but
succouring the Pope, *ib.* —
enters into a League with the
Pope and *Venetians*, 99 — his
Forces embark for *Naples*, 100
endeavours to engage *Henry*
the VIIIth, in the League a-
gainst *France*, 102 — demands
1000 *English* Archers, (to be
employed against the *Moors* as
he pretended) which he ob-
tained, *ib.* — writes to *Henry*,
103 — bestows great Honours
on the *English* Officers, 104 —
lays aside the *Moorish* Expe-
dition, *ib.* — becomes very po-
pular in *England*, *ib.* — his
Proposals favourably received
by King *Henry*, 105 — courts
and commends *Henry's* Actions,
ib. — allures *Henry*, 107 — his
religious Coverings and the
Pope's compared, 101 — his
Ambassador very active in *Eng-
land*, *ib.* — sends an Ambassa-
dor to *Lewis*, *ib.* — his De-
mands, *ib.* — haughtily an-
swered, *ib.* — signs a League
with *Henry*, *ib.* — Preamble to
the Treaty, *ib.* — Articles of
the League, 109 — his Pro-
mise to join *England* against
France, 119 — his Answer
to the Marquis of *Dorset*, 121
— replied to, 122 — to pre-
vent a Discovery of his Arti-
fices sends a Courier to King
Henry, desiring him to order
his

his General to act in Concert with his Forces, *ib.*—succeeds, 123—acquaints the Marquis of *Deser*, that he was ready to march into *Guienne*, *ib.*—disobeyed, *ib.*—in full Possession of *Nouarre*, 124—had no other Title but Pope *Julius's* Bull for that Conquest, *ib.*—swears he never will quit *France* till he settles the Crown thereof on *Henry* the VIIIth, 126—suspected by *Wolsey*, *ib.*—hinders the Pope and *Venetians* from coming to Terms with *Lewis*, 132—promises to send fresh Supplies to *Italy*, *ib.*—his Sincerity compared to *Maximilian's*, 140—in Friendship with the Duke of *Ferrara*, *ib.*—deferred the King of *England*, 141—enters into an Alliance against *France*, 142—his Advice to the Emperor, 152—makes Overtures for a Peace to *Lewis*, 154—concluded a Truce for one Year with him, *ib.*—discovered the Truce from *Henry*, whom at that Time he encouraged to make War with *France*, 155—complains of his being ill used by the Allies of the *Italian* League, *ib.*—his political Views with regard to *Lewis*, 156—Forwards *Henry* by Promises of powerful Succours to declare War with *France*, *ib.*—makes a League against *Lewis*, notwithstanding the Truce, wherein he is principal Party, 157—Articles of the League, 158—disowns his Ambassador at the League of *Mecklin*, but afterwards ratified the League by his Ambassador at *London*, 159—summoned by *Henry* to make

good his Engagements to him, 174—his Answer, *ib.*—congratulates *Henry* on the Success of his Arms, and offers to enter into a new Treaty with him, 189—answered, *ib.*—is uneasy, 219—and offers to renew the Truce with *France*, *ib.*—gains that Point, 220—constrained to fight for *Maximilian*, 221—finds it his Interest to embroil the Affairs of *Europe*, *ib.*—assists the Emperor against the *Venetians*, and solicits him in their Favour, *ib.*—endeavours to prevent a Peace between *England* and *France*, 248—concludes a League with the Pope, *ib.*—consents to the Marriage of *Charles* of *Austria* with *Renée* of *France*, *ib.*—offers to assist *Lewis* to re-conquer *Milan*, *ib.*—not mentioned in the Treaty of *London*, 249—feigns to be pleased with it, *ib.*—alarmed at *Francis* the Ist's Preparations of War, 276—offers to join the *Swiss* against *France*, *ib.*—disbands his Army, *ib.*—is become old, sickly, and restless, 306—refuses to give Audience to *Adrian*, *Charles* of *Austria's* Minister, *ib.*—unwilling to prepare for Death, *ib.*—at last receives the Sacraments, *ib.*—consults his Council about his Heir, 370—admits *Adrian* to his Presence, *ib.*—makes his Will, *ib.*—his Death supposed to be hastened by a Potion, *ib.*—several Incidents concurred to make him Great, 308—the Difference between his Conduct and *Henry* the VIIIth's, *ib.*—*Ferdinand*, Prince, stands fair for the Crown of *Spain*, 307—

- Charles of Austria* preferred to him, *ib.*—receives Assurances of *Charles's* Tenderness, 309.
- Ferrara* attempted by the *Venetians*, 50—Duke of, 59—attacked by the Pope, *ib.*—succoured, *ib.*—destroys the *Venetian Fleet*, 66—excommunicated by the Pope, 68—to be included in a Treaty, 88—disengaged from Holy Fetters, 92—a Grievance to *Julius*, 138—makes the King of *Spain* his Friend, 140—to have *Modena* and *Reggio* restored to him for a Sum of Money by the Pope, 280—offers to pay the Sum, 281—not accepted of, *ib.*
- Fiddes*, Dr. his Account of King *Henry's* Marriage to *Catharine* of *Aragon*, 17—his Reply to Bishop *Burnet*, 211—his Character of *Lewis* the XIth, 249—his Observation on *Polydore Virgil*, 283—his Vindication of *Wolsey*, 302—his Observation on the Dispute of Precedency between Archbishops and Cardinals, 317.
- Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, 20, 217.
- Fitz-Walter*, Lord, 175.
- Finch*, Lady *Betty*, 259.
- Fitz-James*, *Richard*, 212.
- Fincaux*, Sir *John*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, entertained by *Wolsey*, 290—his Character, *ib.*—his Reply to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, relating to *Standish's* Affair, 328—his Rejoinder, *ib.*
- Fleet*, Remarks on it, 89.
- Florentines*, 96, 139.
- Flemish* People, in great Favour with *Charles* King of *Spain*, 366.
- Flodden-field* Fight, 193.
- Flouranges de*, wounded, 163.
- Flail*, none against the Power of Love, 224.
- Fleming*, Lord *Slane*, 253.
- Fortescue*, *Wilham*, Esq; 298.
- Fortescue*, *Hugh*, 384.
- Fox*, *Richard*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Privy Seal, 2—Murmurs against the King's Liberality, 25—lays the Blame on the Earl of *Surry*, *ib.*—his Conduct compared with the Earl of *Surry's*, 26—is little regarded, 28—recommends *Wolsey* to the King, *ib.*—receives a Letter from *Wolsey*, 105—is constantly consulted by him, 107—more of him, 125—appointed to treat with the *French* Ambassadors, 228—his Endowments, 268—builds a Free-school at *Taunton* and a House for the Master, 269—repairs the Choir at *Winchester* with the *Presbytery* and *Isles*, *ib.*—entertained by *Wolsey*, 290—appears against *Standish*, 327.
- Forreſter*, Sir *Duncan*, 193.
- Fox*, his Account of *Hum*, 208, 209.
- Forreſter*, Lord *William*, 193.
- Forman*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, 271—differs with the Bishop of *Murray*, *ib.*
- Footmen* the *Lance-Knights*, 135, 136.
- Foreigners*, Citizens of *London* provoked against them, 376—preached against, 377—insulted, *ib.*—threatned to be destroyed, *ib.*—some killed and some barbarously treated, 379.
- France*, Affairs of, 151, 254, 273.
- Francis*, Duke of *Valois*, marries the Princess of *England* in the Name

Name of *Louis* the XIIth, 45—attends her publick Entry into *Paris*, 246—causes *Justs*, &c. to be proclaimed, *ib.*—succeeded to the Crown of *France*, by the Title of *Francis* the Ist, 254—receives Ambassadors from *England*, 255—the Queen Dowager unfolds her Desire of marrying him, *ib.*—promises her his Assistance, *ib.*—opens the Affair to the Duke of *Suffolk*, 256—sends an Ambassador to *Henry*, 259—desires to renew Treaties, *ib.*—gives Bond to *Henry* and concludes a Treaty with him, 260—assumes the Title of Duke of *Milan*, 276—prepares for War, *ib.*—fills the Posts of Chancellor and Constable, *ib.*—marches into *Italy*, *ib.*—is opposed by the *Swiss*, *ib.*—he endeavours to buy them off, 277—they attack him, *ib.*—he conquers, takes *Milan*, and sends the Duke to *Franco*, *ib.*—makes his publick Entry into *Milan*, 278—brings the *Genoese* under his Dominion, *ib.*—abolishes the *Pragmatic Sanction* at *Leo's* Request, 279—agrees to an Interview with the Pope, *ib.*—they meet at *Bologna*, *ib.*—*Francis* offers his Obedience to the *Holy See*, *ib.*—caressed by *Leo*, who promises him Assistance in recovering *Naples*, *ib.*—obtains great Privileges from *Leo*, 280—promises not to protect any City in *Tuscany*, *ib.*—requires to protect *Lucca*, *ib.*—agrees to endeavour to persuade the Emperor to restore *Verona*, &c. to the *Venetians*, *ib.*—got *Adrian de Boissi* made Cardinal, *ib.*—

parted well satisfied, thinking to have a perpetual Friend in the Pope, *ib.*—deceived by *Leo*, 281—dismisses his Army, excepting a few to guard *Milan*, and returns to *France*, *ib.*—enters into an Alliance with the *Swissers*, *ib.*—Articles thereof, *ib.*—not ratified by five Cantons, *ib.*—offers to pay the other Cantons, *ib.*—who refuse to act against the other five, 282—threatned with a War from *England*, *ib.*—promises all due Satisfaction to *Henry*, 283—disappointed in the Siege of *Verona*, 348—forms new Projects against *Naples*, 349—disappointed by the Pope, *ib.*—assists the Pope against the Duke of *Urbino*, *ib.*—not thanked for his Services by the Pope, 350—discovers the Pope's Designs against him, *ib.*—drops his Design on *Naples*, *ib.*—concludes a Treaty with *Charles*, *ib.*—endeavours to attach the Pope to his Interest by marrying *Magdalene*, Heiress of the House of *Bologne*, to *Lorenzo de Medici*, *Leo's* Nephew, 359.

Free Elections, 261.

Frobin, the famous Painter, 218.

Fryars, *Augustin*, 372.

Frost, a hard one, 385.

Fulman, Mr. his Opinion of the Temporalities of *Lincoln*, 215—answered, *ib.*

G

George the Ist, the late King of *Great Britain*, his humane Reply, on the Earl of *Nihsdale's* Escape out of the Tower, 198—descended from the *Stuarts*, 272—founded Professor

I N D E X.

- scholarship for the Study and Writing of Modern Languages and History in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 286.*
 His most sacred Majesty King GEORGE the III. 171—his Royal Issue, 275.
Saxe, John, 176—distinguished himself at the Siege of Thionne, and was made Governor of Calais, ib.
Sage, Thomas Lord, his Descent, 176.
Say, the late Mr. 340.
Galloway, Earl of, 199.
Garden, for Physick Herbs, at Padua, 357—at Chelsea, 359.
Garmanston, William, Deputy of Ireland, 274.
Garnish, Sir Christopher, 245.
Gilson, John, 383.
Germany, Affairs of, 35.
Gertrude, Queen, 307—receives a comforting Letter from Charles of Austria, 369.
George, Prince, 273.
George, St. 265.
Genoa, put under the Dominion of France, 160—restored to its ancient Form of Government, 164.
Glasgow, Bishop of, made one of the Regents of Scotland, 363.
Godwin, his Account of Richard Fitz-James, Bishop of London, 212—his Account of Walsley's Conduct, 316.
Gordon, Duke of, 498.
Grimini, Cardinal, 42.
Grey, Anthony, Lord, 103.
Grey, Lord, 384.
Grey, Walter, Archbishop of York, 247.
Granada, Canton of, 104.
Granada, the Burying Place of Ferdinand of Spain, 307.
Grimal, Christopher, charged with Heresy, 111—his Abjuration, 112—his Punishment enjoined, 112.
Grimal, Andrew, takes Prison, 45—his Death, 120—his Death in Prison, 129—his Death in a League between Louis and the Venetians, 159—his Death, 16.
Grant, Henry the VIIIth, of the Sec of York to Cardinal Wolsey, 237.
Granubum, 269.
Guicciardini, the reported Author of Justinian's remarkable Speech, 57—his Remarks on the Council's moving from Pisa to Milan, 97—on the Battle of Ravenna, 131—on Cardinal Mazarin's Resoluc, 137—on the Revolution in Italy, 16.
—the Swiss Victory over the French at Navarre, 164—on Lewis the XIIIth's Situation, 219—his Character of the Queen of France, 222—of Ferdinand of Spain, 307—his Opinion on paying for the Release of Souls out of Purgatory, 372.
Guilford, Sir Henry, 105—knighted by the King of Spain, 1104—receives a Cantua of Granada, 16.
Guarita, Lake la, 355.
Guilford, Edward, 178.
Guilford, Sir Edward, Master of the Armory, 384.
Guillandino, Melchior, 398.
Gurik, Bishop of, 67—resains to the Emperor's Court, 84—sets out for Mantua, 85—arrives at Mantua, 87—represents the King of France, as well as the Emperor, as the Pope's Court, 16—goes alone to Bologna, 98—his Death by all

all the Pope's Courtiers at the
Gates, *ib.*—his Speech in the
 Consistory, *ib.*—his Conduct
 to the Pope, in appointing
 three Gentlemen to confer with
 his Commissioners, *ib.*—their
 high Demands from the *Vene-*
tians, *ib.*—quits *Bologna*, 89—
 arrives at *Milan*, 93—agrees
 with the malecontent Cardi-
 nals to dissolve Writs for call-
 ing a General Council, *ib.*
 —Protests in the Emperor's
 Name against the Council of
Risa, 110.

H

Hannover, Elector and Electress
 of, 272.

Harlow, Count of, joins *Gha-*
ma, 56—barbarously imo-
 lent, *ib.*

Hedrich, Cardinal, 169—the
 Pope's Collector in *England*,
 171, 166, 289—*Wolsey's* En-
 emy, *ib.*—disobliges *Henry*
 the VIIIth, *ib.*—loses his Post,
ib.—a wicked Man, 289—
 plots against Pope *Leo* the Xth's
 Life, and is taken into Custody
 for the same, 254.

Harcourt, Sir *Philip*, 182, & *se-*
quenti.

Harcourt, Sir *Simon*, 182.

Hareturt, Lord Viscount, 182.

Hardwicke, Lord High Chan-
 cellor, 305.

Hastings, Lord, 175.

Hat, Cardinal's, 289.

Hamilton, *James*, Lord, 119—
 made Knight of the Ship by
Lewis the XIIth, *ib.*

Hamilton, *James*, Duke of, 119.

Hamilton, *James*, Earl of *Aber-*
corn, 119.

Hamilton, *Thomas*, Earl of *Had-*
ington, 115.

Hamilton, *Ann*, Countess of *Osk-*
ney, 119.

Hamilton, *James*, Viscount *Lin-*
brick, 119.

Harley, *John*, 194.

Harley. See *Oxford*.

Harrague, 117.

Harrington, Dr. his Death, 107.

Hall, *Westminster*, *Henry* the
 VIIIth sits in judgment there,
 384.

Hall, his Account of the Princess
 of *England's* publick Entry in-
 to *Paris*, 246—and of *Henry*
 the VIIIth, during the *Sweat-*
ing Sickness, 384.

Hampton-Court, 241.

Hanapar-Office, 239.

Harbottle-Castle, in *Northumber-*
land, 272.

Haxmer's Answer to *Burnet* about
 vacant Seats, 214—*Fulman*
 and *Burnet*, relating to the
 Temporalities of *Lincoln*, 215
 —clears up a Point relating
 thereto, 216—his Arguments
 on the Pope's filling vacant
 Sees justified, 233—in the
 Controversy relating to Prece-
 dency, 318.

Hay, *John*, Lord, 199.

Herbert, Lord, 123—his Obser-
 vations on *Henry* the VIIIth
 and *Wolsey*, 114—gives a Speech
 made by *Wolsey* to the King,
ib.—his further Observation,
 147.—his Observations on
 the Commission granted to
 the Ambassadors sent to the
Lateran Council, 133—Cha-
 racter of *Wolsey*, 300—Rea-
 sons for the Emperor's Con-
 duct towards the *Venetians*, 353
 —Account of the *Sweating*
Sickness, 384.

Herbert, Lord, 2—made Lord
 Chamberlain, *ib.*—goes
 with Forces to *France*, 176
 —days

I N D E X.

—lays Siege to *Turcove*, *ib.*
 —made Earl of *Worcester*, 204.
Harvey, George, Earl of, 184.
Hervey, John, Lord, 184.
Herbals, 358.
Hertford, Earl of, 184.
Hereford, Walter Devereux, Viscount of, 177.
Menetian Mules, 355.
Henry the VIIth, 207, 216, 253.
Henry the VIIIth succeeds his Father, 1—though designed for an Ecclesiastick, *ib.*—he proposes to marry *Catherine of Arragon*, 13—Reasons for and against it, 14, to 16—the Marriage solemnized, 17—crowned at *Westminster*, 18—courted by the Pope, 52—Parliament meets, 73—the Speaker presented to the King, 74—approves of him, *ib.*—orders *Empson* and *Dudley* to be executed, 76—remits several Fines, *ib.*—signs a Treaty with *Lewis the XIIth*, 77—receives a Present from the Pope, 79—concludes a Treaty with King *Ferdinand*, *ib.*—sends Ambassadors into *Scotland*, 100—receives Complaints from the *Portuguese* Ambassadors and the Merchants against the *Scotch*, 101—sends Admiral *Howard* to scour the Seas, *ib.*—his Answer to the King of *Scotland's* Demands, 102—has a young Prince born, *ib.*—grants *Ferdinand* 1000 Archers, *ib.*—his Letter to the King of *Spain*, and the Answer, 103—his Declaration, 105—his Actions greatly commended by *Ferdinand*, *ib.*—incensed against the *Scots*, 106—allured by *Ferdinand*, 107—is ready to engage in his Measures, *ib.*—sends an

Ambassador to *Lewis*, 108—his Demands, *ib.*—haughtily answered, *ib.*—signs another League with *Ferdinand*, *ib.*—duped by *Ferdinand*, 110—holds several Councils about assisting the Pope and attacking *Lewis*, 112—Speeches for and against him, *ib.*—his Ambition to recover what his Predecessors had lost prevails, 114—Pope ordered the Title of *Most Christian* to be added to the Crown of *England*, *ib.*—sends Dr. *Young* to make two Demands of *Lewis*, *ib.*—War declared against *France*, *ib.*—holds his second Parliament, *ib.*—resolved to proceed in the War against *France*, 117—sends Envoys to King *James of Scotland*, *ib.*—their Representations to *James*, *ib.* 118—recalled, *ib.*—gets a Copy of the League between *Scotland* and *France*, *ib.*—sends an Army into *Spain*, 119—his Fleet shatters that of *France*, and burns their Admiral's Ship, 125—sends Ambassadors to the *Lateran* Council, 133—enters into a Treaty with the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and *Charles of Austria*, against *France*, and signs that of *Rome*, 142—calls his third Parliament, *ib.*—encouraged by the Pope to invade *France*, 143—*Wolsey's* Speech to him, 145—gives him the chief Management of his Affairs, 147—applies himself to the Study of Literature by the Advice of *Wolsey*, 148—receives *Wolsey's* Remonstrances kindly, *ib.*—his Character in his youthful Days, 149—makes great Preparations for War, 159—his Fleet

Fleet sails to the Coast of France; 165—invited by the Admiral to have the Honour of destroying the French Navy in Person; 166—his Answer, *ib.*—makes Lord Howard Admiral, 167—forms himself for Governing, 168—his Letter to David Owen, *ib.*—receives a Letter from Cardinal Baynbridge, 169—His Answer thereto; *ib.*—Baynbridge's second Letter to the King, *ib.*—who executes his Engagements well, 172—resolves to command his Army in Person, *ib.*—summones Ferdinand to execute his Engagements, 174—deferted by his Allies, *ib.*—receives Excuses from the Emperor, *ib.*—sets out for France, 176—arrives at Dover, 177—lands at Calais, *ib.*—marches for Turwine, *ib.*—arrives in the Camp, 178—takes the chief Command of his Army at Turwine, and bestows Favours on both Officers and Soldiers, 179—inlists the Emperor, as a private Man, into his Service, *ib.*—Makes Dispositions to hinder the Town from being succoured, 180—attacks and defeats the French; *ib.*—takes their General and other Officers of note Prisoners, *ib.*—he enters Turwine, *ib.*—marches his Army to besiege Tournay, 181—visits Charles of Austria, *ib.*—orders the Siege to be formed, 182—the Town surrenders, *ib.*—confers the Honour of Knighthood on twelve Gentlemen, *ib.*—is visited by the Arch Duke Charles, and Margaret of Savoy, 184—keeps Tournay, *ib.*—has just

and Tournaments there, 185—and concludes a Treaty, 186—Rapin's Criticisms on it, *ib.*—it is justified by Salmon, *ib.*—congratulated by Ferdinand on the Success of his Arms, 189—answered, *ib.*—returns to England, *ib.*—the Pope communicates his Reconciliation with Lewis, 203—and shews his Esteem for them who had signalized themselves in the War, *ib.*—writes to Sir Richard Cholmondley, *ib.*—and makes him Lieutenant of the Tower, 204—grants Letters of Marque, 205—encourages Trade, *ib.* 206—is dreaded and courted by the neighbouring Princes, *ib.*—calls his fourth Parliament, *ib.*—favours Erasmus, 217—resolves to agree with France, and quit the Emperor and his Troops, 223—makes the Duke of Suffolk Master of the Horse, 224—listens to the Match proposed between the Princess his Sister and Lewis the XIIth, 225—refers the Messenger to Wolsley, to treat with him about it, 226—appoints Commissioners to treat with the French Ministers; 228—concludes three Treaties with Lewis, 229, 230, 231—writes to and receives several Letters from Lewis, 243—accompanies the Princess of England to Dover, where she embarks for France, and is soon after married to Lewis, 244, 245—slights the Treaty concluded with Maximilian, *ib.*—Applications made to him by the Queen Regent of Scotland, 251—grants her a Truce, 252—writes to the Queen of France, his

his Sister, 254—sends Ambassadors to congratulate *Francis* the 1st, King of *France*, and conduct his Sister, the Dowager Queen, to *England*, *ib.*—displeased at first with her Resolution of marrying the Duke of *Suffolk*, 257—but receives their Letters, and consents to their Return to *England*, 258—receives an Ambassador from *Francis* the 1st, 259—concludes a Treaty with him, 260—calls his 5th Parliament, *ib.*—writes an angry Letter to Pope *Leo*, 266—blames the Bishop of *Bath*, *ib.*—sends Instructions to the Bishop of *Worcester* to get the Pope's Bull revoked, *ib.*—succeeds therein, *ib.*—holds his sixth Parliament, 267—his Remonstrances to the *Scottish* Lords disregarded, 270—the Regent of *Scotland* sends an Ambassador to *Henry*, 272—uneasy at the Success of *Francis* the 1st, 282—receives the *Spanish* Ambassador, *ib.*—calls a Council, *ib.*—his Complaints against *Francis* debated *ib.*—the Council divided and *Henry's* Opinion, 283—sends Instructions to the Ambassador to demand Satisfaction of *Francis*, *ib.*—receives a favourable Answer, *ib.*—enters into a Treaty with *Sforza* for the Recovery of *Milan*, *ib.*—*Rapin's* Reflections on *Henry* and *Walsley* answered, 285—*Henry* commits *Polydor Virgil* to the Tower, 287—writes to *Leo* to appoint another Collector in the Room of Cardinal *Hadrrian*, *ib.*—obtains the Pope's Consent, who courts him in Favour of *Polydor*, 288—orders *Polydor* Fir-

gil to be released, 289—sends an affectionate Letter to Cardinal *Walsley*, 309—who prevents his being duped by *Ferdinand*, 309—and sends him Money to answer the publick Exigencies without burthensing his Subjects, 315—has a Prince born, 320—Dr. *Standish* applies to the King for Protection, 321—the Clergy make their Excuses to him on that Account, *ib.*—the Temporal Lords and Judges give their Advice on the Affair, *ib.*—consults Dr. *Vesey* on the Matter, 322—calls a Council to determine it, 327—*Walsley's* Speech thereon, *ib.*—the King's Answer, *ib.*—his Speech in Council on the Inroachments of the Clergy, 328—is petitioned by *Walsley* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 330—makes no Answer, 331—gets *Standish* cleared, *ib.*—receives Complaints against the *Oxford* Scholars, 333—on *Walsley's* Interposition dismisses the Complaint, *ib.*—grants a Revocation of the Sentence against the *Wailiffs* of *Oxford*, *ib.*—grants a remarkable Charter to the University there, 334—redresses the Complaints of the Garrison of *Tournay*, 337—pardons the Mutineers and Conspirators there, *ib.*—defeats the Conspiracy formed against his Dominions, 340—sends 1200 Workmen to *Tournay*, *ib.*—and Sir *Richard Wingfield* to the Imperial Court, 343—*Maximilian* confesses *Henry's* Assistance had saved him and his Nephew, 344—who offers the King both the

Empire

I N D E X.

Empire and Inheritance of *Milan*, 344, 345—the Consequence thereof considered, 346—*Sforza* writes to *Henry*, *ib.*—furnishes *Maximilian* with Money, *ib.*—receives an Ambassador from *Maximilian*, 348—is diverted from assisting him, *ib.*—Reasons for not engaging with *Maximilian* or *Spain*, 349—uneasy at the Treaty of *Noyon*, 352—concludes an Alliance with *Maximilian* and *Charles* of *Spain*, *ib.*—sends his Mathematicians to *Rome*, 353—the Pope desires his Assistance, 354—invited by the Emperor and the King of *Spain* to join in a League against the *Turks*, 365—*Henry* accedes thereto, *ib.*—receives a Letter from *Leo* the Xth, 375—his Answer, *ib.*—gives Audience to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, *ib.*—his Answer to the Recorder's Speech, *ib.*—sits in the Court of *King's Bench*, 382—pardons the *Londoners*, 383—causes a grand Just to be prepared, *ib.*—engages with the Duke of *Suffolk*, 384—diverted from continuing that healthy Exercise, *ib.*—keeps no Court during the *Sweating Sickness*, 385—laments the Calamities of his People, *ib.*

Henry the 1st, 208.

Henry the II^d, 296, 322, 323.

Henry the IIIrd; 298, 326.

Henry the IVth, 295.

*Henry the VIth, 263—confirms
the Chancery, 295.*

Hepburne, Bish. of Murray, 271.—differs with the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, *ib.*—sets the Duke of *Albany* against Lord *Hume*, *ib.*

Hepburne, John, a professed Enemy to the *Humes* in Scotland; unfortunate; 363.

Hereff, Suspicion of, 207—not meddled with by the Council of *Lateran*, 353.

Historians, Spanish and French,
181.

History, Rapin's, a Reflection on the *English Nation*, 286—and the Royal Family of *Stuarts*, ib.

History, the Writing of it encouraged by King George the 1st;
286.

Hoards, Henry the VIIth's, 142.
Hollis, John, Duke of New-
castle, 194.

Holman, Francis, 153.

Homer, his Character of the Hæ-
netian Mules, 355.

Holderness, Earl of, 103.

Howard, Thomas, Earl of *Surrey*, Lord High Treasurer, 2—his Conduct and Bishop *Fox*'s compared, 26 — waits on King *Henry*, 106—sent to the *North*, 118—prepares to oppose the *Scotch*, 192—marches to meet them, 193—sends a Herald to challenge *James* to fight on a fixt Day, 194—a second, *ib.*—intercepts the *Scotch* Provision, 195—traverses a Morass, and engages the *Scotch*, *ib.*—sustains a long and cruel Fight, *ib.*—defeats the *Scotch* at *Floddon-field*, 196 — made Duke of *Norfolk*, 205—appointed to treat with the *French* Ambassadors, 228—conducts the Princess *Mary* to *France*, 245— for a War with *France*, 283—entertained by *Wolsey*, 290—goes to *Lincoln's* Trial, 380—attends the King in *Westminster-hall*, 382—in the *Jufts*, 384.

G g g

How:

I N D E X.

- Howard, Sir Edward, Admiral,*
101 — takes *Breton* and his
Ships, *ibid.* — conveys the
Troops to *Spain*, 120 — makes
a Descent into *Brittany*, 124
— defeated 10,000 *French*
with 1500 *English*, *ib.* — re-
turns with great Booty to his
Ships, *ib.* — meets and at-
tacks the *French* at Sea, 125
— defeats them and burns their
Admiral's Ship, *ib.* — his Squa-
dron Masters of the Sea, *ib.*
— vows to be revenged for the
Death of *Sir Thomas Knyvet*,
127 — sent with a powerful
Fleet to the Coast of *France*,
165 — lands 1500 Men, who
burnt the Country in Sight of
10,000 *French*, 166 — in Per-
son boards the *French* Gallies,
but, being over-powered by the
Enemy, was drowned, *ib.* —
his Character and Descent,
167.
- Howard, Lord Thomas, made*
Admiral, 167 — scours the
Seas of the *French*, *ib.* — com-
mands one Wing of the Army
at the Battle of *Flooden-field*,
193 — made Earl of *Surrey*,
196, 379.
- Howard, Lord Effingham*, 193.
- Howard, Sir Edmund*, 193.
- Howard, Henry, Earl of Suffolk*,
167.
- Howard, Henry Bowes, Earl of*
Berkshire, 167.
- Howard, Henry, Earl of Carlisle*,
167.
- Howard, Edward, the present*
Duke of *Norfolk*, 205.
- Hooker, Mr.* his Remark on the
Law, 261.
- Horsley, Dr.* 207 — charged with
the Death of *Hun*, 210.
- Hungarians*, their remarkable
Zeal, 63.
- Hun, John*, 207 — sued in the
Spiritual Court, 208 — found
dead, *ib.* — pronounced a He-
retick, *ib.* — his Body burnt
in *Smithfield*, 209.
- Huntingdon, Earl of*, 175 — the
present Earl's Descent, *ib.*
- Hunsley, Earl of*, 195 — killed,
198.
- Hume, Lord Alexander*, 170 —
provoked against the Regent,
Albany, *ib.* — his Advice to the
Queen Dowager of *Scotland*,
ib. — flies into *England*, *ib.*
- Hume, William*, flies from *Scot-*
land into *England*, 271.
- Humes, the two Brothers* Fugi-
tives in *England*, 362 — *Alex-*
ander commanded by the States
of *Scotland* to appear before
them, and condemned for not
obeying, *ib.* — surrenders him-
self to the Regent, who com-
mits him to the Care of the
Earl of *Arran*, *ib.* — they both
escape and raise new Troubles,
ib. — are joined by the Earl of
Lennox, *ib.* — pardoned, *ib.* —
plots again, *ib.* — is discovered,
ib. — beheaded with his Bro-
ther *William*, 363 — *Alex-*
ander's Sons all unfortunate, *ib.*
- Hume, Earl of*, created, 362 —
William, Earl of, *ib.*

I

James the IVth, King of Scot-
land, 100 — prepares to visit
the *Holy Land*, but is prevent-
ed, *ib.* — demands Satisfaction
of the King of *Portugal* for
the Murder of one of his Sub-
jects, 101 — grants Letters of
Marque to the Deceased's Son,
ib. — who, being beat, and
taken by the *English*, King
James protests against the In-
justice of *Henry*, 102 — but is
slighted, *ib.* — makes great

I N D E X.

- Preparations for War, 117—his Answer to the *English* Ambassadors Representations, *ib.*—goes into the *French* Interest, *ib.*—his Jealousy of *England*, 118—concludes a Treaty with *France*, *ib.*—threatned with the Pope's Excommunication, *ib.*—which he slights, 119—shews a particular Instance of his Regard for *France*, *ib.*—included in a Treaty between *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and *England*, 154—solicited to make War against *Henry*, 193—calls a Parliament, and sends a Herald to desire *Henry* to forbear making War in *France*, *ib.*—his Declaration of War against *England*, *ib.*—musters his Army, 192—his Queen endeavours to dissuade him from going to War, *ib.*—enters *England* and takes *Norham-Castle*, 193—is killed at *Flodden-field* Battle, 196—was admonished against the War, 200—his Character, *ib.*—Sentiments of Historians relating to him, 201—absolved from Excommunication and interred, *ib.*—the Opinion of the *Scotch* Writers relating to him, 202—buried at *West-Skene*, *ib.*
- James* the Vth proclaimed K. of *Scotland*, 251—included in the Treaty between *Henry* the VIIIth and *Francis* the Ist, 260—the 105th K. of *Scotland*, 269—crowned, 270—seized upon by the Duke of *Albany*, 271.
- James*, Dr. 357.
- James* the VIth, first Monarch of *Great-Britain*, 272.
- Jacobins*, appointed to preach the *Crusade* in *Saxony*, 372
- ridiculed by the *Augustins*, *ib.*
- Jedburgh*, Abbot of, banished, 363.
- Jealousy*, *Scotch*, 118.
- Jews*, such as were converted provided for, 298.
- Ikerine*, Viscount, 275.
- Italy*, invaded by the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, 364.
- Imola*, Citadel of, 131.
- Independancy*, a strange Story in the History of, 299.
- Innocent* the IVth first gave the red Hat to the Cardinals, 289.
- Ingleby*, Sir *Thomas*, Speaker of the House of Commons, 73.
- Inchjefray*, Abbot of, 197.
- Indulgences* granted by the Pope, 372.
- Indulgence*, Plenary, 143.
- Inscription* on *Lewis's* Medals in Contempt of *Rome*, 134.
- Inspruck*, 277.
- Inquest*, 208.
- Intail*, Act of, 272.
- Jovius*, *Paulus*, his Account of Pope *Julius* the IIId, 152—and of the Priest who poisoned Cardinal *Baynbridge*, 236.
- Ireland*, Affairs of, 29, 112, 150, 252—Lord Justice of, 253, 274—Parliament of, *ib.*—Lord Lieutenant of, *ib.*—Affairs of, 263—reduced to a quiet Condition, 364.
- Irish*, Sufferers by fond Belief and Superstition, 364.
- Irish*, *Wild*, 253—take the Castle of *Dunlme*, *ib.*
- Isla*, Earl of, 197.
- Islington*, People of, 207.
- Isleben*, the Birth-place of *Martin Luther*, 373.
- Italy*, Affairs of, 37, 52, 80, 127, 275, 353.
- Judges*, their Advice to *Henry* the VIIIth, on Dr. *Standish's* Affair, G g g 2

I N D E X.

Affair, 321—their Opinion thereon, 325.

Justices, Itinerant, 323.

Justices of Jail Delivery and Assize, 323.

Jure Divino, whether the Excommunication of Clerks be such, 323.

Fasts, prepared by *Henry* the VIIIth's Orders, 383—interrupted, 384.

Julius the IIId, Pope, receives the *Venetian* Cardinals with Disdain, 43—but soon after favours them, 44—answers the Döge's Letter, *ib.*—Differences between his Holiness and *Lewis* accommodated, 51—a second Quarrel, *ib.*—refuses his Project of agreeing with the *Venizians*, *ib.*—endeavours to take *Ferdinand* off from the League of *Cambray*, 52—grants the *Venetians* Absolution, 53—allows his Subjects to go into the *Venetian* Service, 54—declares War against *France*, 59—invades *Ferrara*, and imprisons the *French* Ambassador, *ib.*—his Forces retire at the Sight of those of the *French*, *ib.*—they enter *Modena*, 60—engages the *Swiss* in his Service, *ib.*—greatly perplexed, 63—seems willing to treat with the King of *France*, *ib.* declares War again, 64—heads his Army, *ib.*—designs to besiege *Ferrara*, but marches off to *Modena*, 65—retires to *Bologna*, 66—labours to join the temporal Power to the spiritual, 67—deserted by five Cardinals, *ib.*—is very uneasy at *Bologna*, 68—excommunicates the Duke of *Modena*, *ib.*—shut up at *Bologna* with a numerous Court but weak Gar-

rison, *ib.*—his Courtiers confounded, 69—in great Danger, *ib.*—storms at the *Venetian* Ambassador, *ib.*—over-reaches *Chaumont*, *ib.*—pulls off the Mask, 70—talks of nothing but Battles and Sieges, 71—takes *Concorda*, *ib.* lays Siege to *Mirandola* and is on the Batteries Night and Day, *ib.*—enters that Place in Triumph, 72—courts the K. of *England's* Favour, 78—sends him a Golden Rose, *ib.*—writes to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *ib.*—returns to *Rome*, 80—leaves the Command of his Army to the Duke of *Urbino*, *ib.*—promises great Matters to *Ferdinand*, if he would assist to break the Union between the Emperor and *France*, 81—puts *Modena* into the Emperor's Hands, *ib.*—grants *Ferdinand* the Investiture of *Naples*, *ib.*—makes a Promotion of Cardinals, 83—agreed seemingly to what the Emperor proposed, 85—endeavours to make his Advantage by separating the *German* and *French* Prelates, 87—goes to *Bologna*, *ib.*—is followed by the Emperor's Ambassador, and appoints three Commissioners to treat with him, 88—disgusted at his Conduct, *ib.*—endeavours to prevail on the Bishop of *Gurck* to abate his Demands, *ib.*—ungrateful to the King of *England*, 89—leaves *Bologna* with a Design to head his own and the *Venetian* Army, 90—returns in great Confusion, *ib.* his Speech to the Senate of *Bologna*, against the *Bentivogli*, 91—receives Assurances of their

I N D E X.

their Fidelity, *ib.*—quits *Bologna* and leaves Cardinal *Pavia* his Legate, *ib.*—goes to *Ravenna*, *ib.*—his *Spirit Ecclesiastick*, 93—projects new Schemes, *ib.*—greatly affected with the Murder of Cardinal *Pavia*, *ib.*—suspected of having been concerned in it, *ib.*—his Grief thereon inexpressible, 94—returns to *Rome*, *ib.*—mortified at *Rimini*, *ib.*—excommunicates the *Bentivogli*, 95—sends *Colonna* to command his Forces, *ib.*—is obliged to retire, *ib.*—summoned to appear at the General Council, 95—reviles it, *ib.*—enraged against the *Florentines* and those of *Pisa*, 96—threatens to invade them, *ib.*—blamed for his Excommunications against the General Council, *ib.*—summoned again by the General Council, 97—thunders with his Bulls against *France*, and excommunicates *Lewis* the XIIth, *ib.*—empowers any *Christian* Prince to conquer *France* and *Navarre*, *ib.*—summones another General Council to be held at *St. John de Lateran* at *Rome*, *ib.*—assisted by the *Swiss*, *ib.*—promises them a large Sum of Money, *ib.*—disappoints them, 98—is the chief Subject of Discourse in the Court of *Spain*, *ib.*—caresses once more the *Spanish* Ambassador, 99—signs a League in Concert with *Ferdinand* and the *Venetians* against *France*, *ib.*—changes his Note and is no longer for Peace, 99—possesses the Viceroy of *Naples*, to send the *Spanish* Forces to join him, 100—his Designs

on *England*, 104—makes his Use of *Ferdinand's* Negotiations, 107—writes against *Lewis* to King *Henry*, *ib.*—compared in his religious Coverings to the King of *Spain*, 108—promises to confer the Title of *Most Christian* on the King of *England*, *ib.*—what he is to expect from *Scotland*, 118—sends a monitory Brief to King *James*, *ib.*—his Threats slighted by the King of *Scotts*, *ib.*—solicited to revoke his Brief, *ib.*—to no purpose, 119—his Bull for making of Conquests, 124—his Forces join the *Spaniards* and *Venetians*, 127—lay Siege to *Bologna*, *ib.*—raise it and retires to *Imola*, 128—defeated at *Ravenna*, 130—conjured by the Cardinals to make Peace with *France*, 132—seems inclined to it, *ib.*—plucks up Courage and raises new Forces, *ib.*—makes Preparations for holding the Council of *Lateran*, *ib.*—his Sentiments of the refractory Cardinals, 133—is in *K. Charles* the Ist's Case, *ib.*—becomes the Favourite of Fortune, *ib.*—renews his Excommunications against *Lewis*, *ib.*—interdicts *France*, 134—his Pretence for Excommunication, *ib.*—becomes Master of *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, and *La Romagna*, 138—four Things remain undone to make *Julius* compleatly happy, *ib.*—gains two great Steps by the Restoration of the *Medicis* and *Sforza*, 139—two Fire-brands to *Julius's* righteous Soul, *ib.*—labours to procure a Peace between *Maximilian* and the *Vene-*

Venetians for his own Interest, *ib.*—obtains a second Meeting at *Rome*, *ib.*—concludes an offensive and defensive Treaty with *Maximilian* against the *Venetians*, *ib.*—dies before he could vent his Spleen against *Ferrara*, 140—enters into an Alliance against *France*, 142—to encourage *Henry* he sends over a plenary Indulgence to his Subjects, 143—shews his Respect for *Wolfey*, 149—sends a Legate to *Ireland*, 150—kindles a Flame not extinguished by his Death, 152—his Death and Character, *ib.* 153.

K

Kalendar, Reformation of it set on Foot, 353.
Kent, Earl of, 177.
Kemp, Cardinal, Archbishop of *York*, disputes the Precedency with *Chichele*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 317.
Kennedy, Earl of *Cassils*, 198.
Keepers of the King's Conscience, 295.
Kennedy, *John*, 199.
Kennet's Account relating to the Place of the King's Marriage, 17.
King's-Bench Court, whence it sprung, 294.
Kildare, Earl of, continued in the Government of *Ireland*, 29—reduced *Belfast* and the Rebels in the *North*, 150—builds a new Chapel, *ib.*—marches again against the Rebels, 252—falls sick at *Athy* and dies, *ib.*
Kildare, *Richard*, Earl of, takes the Government upon himself, 253—defeats the *Wild Irish*, *ib.*—passes into *England*, 274—returns into *Ireland*, and

calls a Parliament at *Dublin*, *ib.*—grants the King a Subsidy, and makes a good Act, *ib.*

Kill-winner, Abbot of, 197.
Kichenbright, Lord, 199.
Knights of the Bath made, 18.
Knight, Dr. his Reflexions on *Wolfey* refuted, 213, 214—his Account of Dr. *Coles*, and of his being protected by *Wolfey*, 304.
Knyvet, Sir *Thomas*, 126.

L

LANCASTER, House of, 259.
La Marche, *Robert*, Lord, 163—rescues his two Sons, *ib.*
Legate a Latere, *Wolfey* made, 316.
Lalle, *Reginald de*, heads a Party that rescued Cardinal *de Medicis*, 137.
Lance-Knights, 135—fight gallantly, 161.
Lateran, Council of, opened, 132—more numerous than that held in *France*, *ib.* 203, 353.
Lautrec, General, 128, 130, 277—serviceable to the *Venetians*, who make him Presents, 278—the order of St. *Michael* conferred upon him by *Francis* the 1st, *ib.*
Law, Parliamentary, 266—defined, 261.
Lander, Battle of, 274.
Languages, Modern, the Study thereof encouraged by King *George* the 1st, 286.
Lee, Sir *William*, 291.
League, signed against *France*, 99, 109.
Lediard, Mr. his History of *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, 341.
Leoni, *Gion Baptista*, 44.
Leeds, Monastery of, 112.

Lewis

Lewis the XIIth, 46—sends Count *Carpi* to *Rome*, 52—his Credit very great in *Germany*, 56—fresh Disputes between him and the Pope, 58—new Agreement between him and the Emperor, *ib.*—breaks off with the *Swiss*, 60—takes *German* and other Troops into his Pay, *ib.*—assembles his Clergy, 66—signs a Treaty with *Henry* the VIIIth, 77—pursues more than ever his Affairs in *Italy*, 78—engages himself to pay 670,000 Crowns for Arrears due to *England*, *ib.* greatly alarmed, 86—sends a Minister to *Mantua*, *ib.*—goes to *Lyon*, 87—to attend the Negotiations, 88—his Minister quits *Mantua*, 89—forbids Rejoicings on Account of the Success of his Arms against the Pope, 94—orders his General in *Italy* to commit no Hostilities in the Ecclesiastical Dominions, *ib.*—is excommunicated by the Pope, and his Kingdoms given to any *Christian* Prince that will conquer them, 97—confers the Government of the *Milanese* on the Duke of *Nevers*, *ib.*—his Minister enquires into *Ferdinand's* Motives for his military Preparations, 98—the Pope willing to enter into a Negotiation with *Lewis*, *ib.*—the *Scotch* Ambassador Mediator in this Affair, *ib.*—the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the *Venetians* sign a League against him, 99—for political Reasons grants the Emperor a Supply, *ib.*—upon the Point of being attacked by *Spain*, the Pope and the *Venetians*, 100—they endeavour to render his Actions

odious, 104—refuses to comply with *Henry's* Demands, 114—has Intelligence of the Negotiations privately carried on between *England* and the Pope, 116—builds Ships in *Scotland*, 119—confers Knight-hood on Lord *Hamilton*, *ib.*—his Army marches to the Frontiers of *Bearne*, 121—encamps between *Bayonne*, and *Sabaterra*, 123—provoked at the Loss sustained in *Brittany*, *ib.*—fits out 39 Men of War against the *English*, 124—they fight and are defeated, 125—lose their Admiral's Ship, *ib.*—retire into *Brest* and other Ports, *ib.*—victorious in *Italy*, 129—threatned with an Invasion from the *Swiss* as well as from *England* and *Spain*, 132—excommunicated by the Pope, 133—strikes Medals in Contempt of *Rome*, 134—the Authority of his Council disowned, *ib.*—sends an Army to *Bearne*, to prevent *Guienne* from being invaded by the *English* and *Spaniards*, *ib.*—is deceived by the Emperor, *ib.*—loses *Romagna*, *ib.*—is deserted by *Maximilian*, 136—his Affairs in *Italy* ruined, *ib.*—loses *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, and *la Romagna*, 138—holds the Castle of *Milan* and *Cremona*, *ib.*—his Services to *Maximilian*, 140—a Sufferer through his Obsequiousness to his Queen, *ib.*—whose Artifices are not unlike those of the present Queen of *Spain*, 140—he improves his Queen, 141—a grand Alliance formed against him, 142—*Maximilian* proposes a Treaty to him, and demands his Daughter for his Grand-

Grandson, 151—listens to these Proposals, *ib.*—the *Venetians* desire a strict Union with *France*, *ib.*—who listens to their Offers, 152—concludes a Truce with *Ferdinand*, 154—jealous of the new Pope, 157—a League concluded against him by the Pope, &c. *ib.*—concludes a League with the *Venetians*, 159—sends Forces into *Italy*, *ib.*—who make themselves Masters of the *Milme*, 160—gets *Genoa* into his Hands, *ib.*—*Alexandria* submits to his Forces, *ib.*—the *French* Generals gasconade not a little, *ib.*—repulsed at the Attack of *Navarra*, 161—turn the Siege into a Blockade, *ib.*—roured by the *Swiss*, *ib.*—their Loss in that Battle, 163—gets and loses *Genoa* and *Milan* in less than a Month, 164—invaded the *Swiss*, 165—*la Tremoville* capitulates for him without his Knowledge, *ib.*—invades *England*, 167—retreats with Precipitation, *ib.*—loses the Battle of the *Spurs*, and his Generals, 180—*Turwine*, *ib.*—*Tournay*, 182—submits to the Pope, 203—absolved from his Censures, *ib.*—discontinues his Protection to the Council of *Pisa*, *ib.*—renews the Treaty with *France*, 219—the Pope studies to thwart him, 220—longs to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, 222—endeavours to divide the Allies, *ib.*—treats with the Emperor and *Ferdinand* on a Marriage between his Daughter and *Charles* of *Austria*, *ib.*—his Queen dies, *ib.*—his Tenderness for her, *ib.*—resolves

to marry again, 223—smitten with the Princess of *England's* Portraiture, 225—orders his Ambassador to demand the Princess in Marriage, *ib.*—sends Ambassadors to treat of an Amity and Marriage, 228—puts great Confidence in *Wolsey*, 229—concludes three Treaties with *Henry*, 229, 230, 231—married by Proxy, 241—writes often to King *Henry* and *Wolsey*, *ib.*—meets his Royal Consort at *Aberville* and celebrates his Marriage, 245—has his Q. crowned, 246—angry that *Suffolk* and *Dorset* should carry away the Prize, 247—acknowledges his many Obligations in several Letters to *Wolsey*, *ib.*—spends most of his Time in admiring the Charms of his Queen, *ib.*—courted by the Pope to enter into a League, 248—his Death and Character, *ib.* 250.
Leo the Xth elected Pope, 215—his Character, *ib.*—and political Views, 156—writes to *Henry* the VIIIth, *ib.*—presses the Emperor to make Peace with *Venice*, 157—supercribes *Henry* the Most Christian King, *ib.*—enters into a League against *France*, *ib.*—fickle, 188—grants a Dispensation for absolving *James* the IVth of *Scotland*, 201—enjoins a Penance on King *Henry*, *ib.*—receives *Louis's* Submission, and absolves him, 203—writes to *Henry*, *ib.*—endeavours to reconcile *Louis* and the *Swissers*, 219—plots against *Louis's* Measures, 220—endeavours to reconcile the Emperor and the *Venetians*, *ib.*—his private Views for aggrandizing

grandizing his Family, *ib.*—
makes a provisional Sentence
between the Emperor and the
Venetians, 220—rejected by
the *Venetians*, 221—sends *Wol-*
sey a Bull of Absolution, 239
—endeavours to prevent a
Peace between *England* and
France, 248—proposes to en-
ter into a League with *Lewis*,
ib.—concludes one with *Fer-*
dinand, *ib.*—not mentioned in
the Treaty of *London*, 249—
his Artifice with Regard to
Lewis, *ib.*—grants a Bull to
the Bishop Elect of *Tournay* to
Wolsey's Prejudice, 266—de-
mands an extraordinary Subsi-
dy of the *English* Clergy, 267
—grants the Ecclesiastical Pre-
ferments of *Scotland* to *Henry*
the VIIIth, 270—in great
Perplexity at *Francis's* Success,
279—orders *Lorenzo de Medici*
not to commit Hostilities a-
gainst the *French*, *ib.*—to as-
sure the King of *France* his
Army was sent only to guard
Parma and *Placentia*, *ib.*—
obtains an Abolition of the
Pragmatick Sanction, *ib.*—
promises to restore *Modena* and
Reggio to the Duke of *Ferra-*
ra, 280—and to give *Francis*
Power to levy the tenth Part
of the Church Revenues in
France, *ib.*—over-reached, *ib.*
—grants several other Privi-
leges to *Francis*, *ib.*—parts
seemingly pleased, *ib.*—evades
all his Promises to *Francis*, 281
—is solicited by several Princes
to make *Wolsey* a Cardinal,
287—his Deputy Collector in
England imprisoned, *ib.*—
grants *Henry's* Request to ap-
point a new Collector, *ib.*—
intercedes with *Henry* for *Pol-*
ydor Virgil, 288—makes Car-
dinal *Wolsey* Legate & Latere,

316—refuses to declare against
France, 348—disappoints
Francis, 349—deprives the
Duke of *Urbino* of his Domi-
nions, 350—forgets to thank
Francis for his Services, *ib.*—
studies how to drive the *French*
out of *Italy*, *ib.*—settles a
Correspondence with *Maximi-*
lian, *Henry* the VIIIth, and
Charles of *Spain*, *ib.*—his In-
sincerity discovered by *Francis*,
ib.—invites all *Astronomers* to
Rome, 353—reduces the Duke
of *Urbino* and gets his Domi-
nions, 354—writes circular
Letters to the Princes of *Eu-*
rope for Succours against *Urbi-*
no, *ib.*—particularly to *Henry*
and the Bishops of *England*, *ib.*
—appoints *Wolsey* his Collector,
ib.—uneasy at the large Pos-
sessions held by *Francis* in *Ita-*
ly, *ib.*—discovers a Plot a-
gainst his Life, *ib.*—seizes
the Conspirators, *ib.*—grants
Francis Power to levy the
Tenth upon his Clergy, 361
—alarmed at the growing
Greatness of the *Turks*, 371—
executes his Project for raising
Money among the *Christians*,
ib.—grants *Indulgences* at a
moderate Price, 372—reflect-
ed upon by *Luther*, *ib.*—his
Authority questioned, *ib.*—
disregards *Luther*, 375—con-
tinues to dispose of his *Indul-*
gences, *ib.*—rediculed by *Lu-*
ther, *ib.*—writes to *Henry* to
promote the good Work, *ib.*
requests 200,000 Ducats of
him, 376.

Leicester, Earl of, 103.

Lenox, Earl of, 195—killed, 197
—another Earl of, 272.

Lenox, John Stuart, Earl of,
joins the Rebels in *Scotland*,
362—pardoned, *ib.*

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I N D E X.

- Lenox, Charles*, Duke of. See *Richmond*.
- Legate*, the Pope's in *Ireland*, 150
—in *England*, 208.
- Lewis* the XIVth, 341, 342, 358.
- Legrozno*, 121.
- Lex Parliamentaria*, 263.
- Livius, Titus*, born at *Padua*, 59.
- Lymington*, Lord Viscount of, his Descent, 166.
- Lindsey*, Colonel, 299, 300, 301.
- Litchfield* and *Coventry*, Bishop of, 149.
- Liberty* infringed, 262.
- Lilij, William*, first Master of, *St. Paul's School*, 305—intimate with *Erasmus*, *ib.*
- Lincoln*, Bishop of, 212—*Temporalities* of, 215—Bishop of, receives the Cardinal's Hat for *Wolsey*, 290.
- Lincoln, John*, excites the Mob against *Foreigners*, 376—is taken Prisoner with 300 more, 380—convicted of *High Treason*, *ib.*—his Speech and Execution, *ib.*
- Lincoln*, late and present Earl of, 304.
- Loredano, Mark*, his Motion in the *Venetian Senate*, 43—as Doge of *Venice* opposes the taking *Padua*, 45—forward to defend, it, 48—afterwards offers to command the Army in Person, 54.
- Lovell, Sir Thomas*, Constable of the Tower, 2.
- Longueville*, Duke of, 121—commands the *French Army*, 179—taken Prisoner, 180—persuades King *Henry* to disengage himself from the Emperor; 223—proposes a Match between the King his Master and the Princess of *England*, 225—dispatches a Courier with an Account of his Success to *Lewis*, *ib.*—receives Orders to demand the Princess in Marriage, *ib.*—returns to *France*, 241.
- Löber, Lord*, 198.
- Louvain, Chevalier de*, Governor of the Castle of *Milan*, 138.
- Lollards-Tower*, 207.
- London*, Bishop of, 207, 208, 211.
- London*, Treaty of, 352.
- London*, Citizens of, offended against *Foreigners*, 376—Forces do Duty in it, 380—jealous of their Liberties, 387.
- Low Countries*, Conquests made by the *English* therein, 287.
- Louisa*, Princess of *France*, contracted to the King of *Spain*, 350—her Dowry, *ib.*
- Lord Justice of Ireland*, 253.
- Lords, Scotch*, disregards *Henry* the VIIIth's Remonstrances against their choosing the Duke of *Albany* for Regent, 270.
- Lucca*, People of, sue for *Francis* the Ist's Protection, 282.
- Ludovico, Sforza*, taken Prisoner, 160.
- Luther, Martin*, reflects on the Pope's Authority and his Indulgences, 372—his Origin and Life, 373—a Prophecy in his Favour, *ib.*—is encouraged to go to the University of *Wittenberg*, 374—is sent to *Rome*, *ib.*—his Character of the *Roman Clergy*, *ib.*—of the Courtezans at *Rome*, *ib.*—his Sayings of the Bread and Wine of the Altar, *ib.*—made Doctor of Divinity, *ib.*—explained the *Epistle to the Romans*, and *Psalms*, *ib.*—shewed the Difference between the Law and the Gospel, *ib.*—draws many Enemies on himself, *ib.*—opposes Indulgences, *ib.*—called a Heretic, *ib.*

ib.—writes in his own Justification, *ib.*—not regarded at first by the Pope, 375—gives Birth to the Reformation, *ib.*

M

Mary, Princess of England, 223—her Contract with *Charles of Austria* neglected, 224—courted by some *English* Lords, *ib.*—in love with the Duke of *Suffolk*, *ib.*—a Match proposed between her and the K. of *France*, *ib.*—stifles her first Love, 288—is highly pleased with *Wolsey*, *ib.*—her Reasons for breaking off with *Charles of Austria*, 232—married by Proxy to *Lewis* the XIIth, 241—great Preparations made for her Journey, *ib.*—sets out for *Douer*, accompanied by the King and Queen, 244—embarks for *France*, 245—meets with a Storm, and puts into *Bologne*, *ib.*—proceeds to *Abbeville*, where she meets her Consort, *ib.*—her Marriage celebrated, *ib.*—makes her publick Entry into *Paris*, 246—crowned Queen of *France*, *ib.*—Joists and Tournaments on that Occasion, *ib.*—charms all that Nation, particularly *Lewis*, 247—made uneasy, *ib.*—complains to *Wolsey*, 248.—her Royal Consort dies, 249—designs to return to *England*, 254—her Reply to *Wolsey's* Letter about Matrimony, *ib.*—retains her Affection for the Duke of *Suffolk*, 255—her Sentiments upon Matrimony, *ib.*—discloses her Mind to the *French*, *ib.*—acquaints *Henry* with her Design, 257—is married, *ib.*—follows *Wolsey's* Advice, 258—is forgiven by *Hen-*

ry, *ib.*—prepares to return to *England*, *ib.*—soon arrives there, is received into Favour, and publickly married at *Greenwich*, *ib.*—her Issue, *ib.* & sequenti.—her Dowry, 259.
Maximilian, the Emperor, 45—arrives in *Lombardy*, 46—the *French* General acts by his Orders, *ib.*—resolves to besiege *Padua*, 47—arrives in the *Vicentino*, *ib.*—is joined by some *French* and *Spaniards*, *ib.*—arrives near *Padua*, 48—besieges it, 49—raises it again, 50—retires into *Germany*, *ib.*—closely united to *Lewis*, K. of *France*, 51—holds a Diet of the Empire, 55—powerfully supported therein by the *French* Plenipotentiary, 56—careless of his Affairs, 58—borrows 100,000 Crowns of Gold of the King of *France*, *ib.*—sends his Prime Minister to *Tours*, and attends the K. of *France* to *Blois*, 67—concludes a Treaty with *Lewis*, *ib.*—has Views of joining the *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Dignities, *ib.*—impatient to have the Treaty with *France* put in Execution, 84—highly pleased with *Ferdinand's* Presentation, 85—sends *Gurck* to *Mantua*, *ib.*—intercedes for the malecontent Cardinals, *ib.*—communicates his Resolution to the King of *France*, 86—renews the Agreement with the *Swiss*, *ib.*—denies a Peace to the *Venetians* until they settled with *France* and the D. of *Ferrara*, 88—his Minister quits *Bologna*, 89—is at *Innsbruck*, 89—designs for *Rome*, to make himself Sovereign of the *Romans*, *ib.*—is suspected by all Parties, *ib.*—concludes a Truce with the

H h z

Vene-

Venetians, 134—promises to recal his Troops from *Lewis*, *ib.*—receives the *Swiss* at *Trent*, 136—dissembles with the *French* Ambassador, *ib.*—invited to treat with the *Venetians*, in order to abandon *Lewis* and the Council of *Pisa*, 139—at last concludes a Treaty with the Pope against the *Venetians*, *ib.*—renounces the Council of *Pisa*, 140—signs a League against *Lewis*, 142 forgets *Henry* and proposes to enter into a new League with *Lewis*, 151—demands *Lewis*'s Daughter for his Grandson, *ib.*—his political Views, 156—labours to persuade *Henry* to make a Descent into *France*, *ib.*—enters into a League against *Lewis*, 157—offers to assist the *Swiss* against *Lewis*, 165—deserts *Henry*, 174—enters as a private Centinel into *Henry*'s Service, 179—quits the King's Service and returns to *Germany*, 182—finds his Account in the War, 221—too expensive for *Henry* to support, 223—endeavours to prevent a Peace between *England* and *France*, 248—not mentioned in the Treaty of *London*, 249—the Treaty concluded between him and *Henry* slighted, *ib.*—feigns to be pleased with the Peace, *ib.*—surrenders the Government of the *Low Countries* to *Charles* of *Austria*, 275—jealous of *Francis* the Ist's Progress in *Italy*, 282—sends an Ambassador to *Henry* with Instructions to oppose *Francis*, *ib.*—solicited to act against the *French* by *Henry*, 341—receives the Propositions with Joy, 342—projects the Attacking of *Mi-*

lan, 343—his Proposal to *Wingfield* in a private Audience, *ib.*—owns that *Henry*'s Assistance had saved him and his Nephew, 344—offers on *Henry*'s Account to make Peace with the *Venetians*, *ib.*—and the *Dutchy of Milan*, to *Henry*, and to adopt him for his Son, *ib.*—promises to resign the Empire to *Henry*, 345—receives Money from *Henry*, 346—marches unexpectedly into the State of *Venice* with 20,000 Men, 347—puts the *French* into a great Consternation, *ib.*—the *Swiss* in his Service become clamorous for their Pay, *ib.*—desert his Army and disband, *ib.*—recovers his Spirits again, 348—applies to *Charles* of *Spain* without Success, *ib.*—sends to implore *Henry*'s Aid, *ib.*—blames the *Swiss*, *ib.*—privately treats of a Peace with *France*, *ib.*—his Representations to Cardinal *Wolsey*, 349—concludes an Alliance with *Henry*, 352—concludes a Truce with the *Venetians*, 353—receives the Money stipulated by the Treaty of *Noyon* and restores *Verona*, *ib.* the Princes of *Europe* tired of supporting him with Money, 354—arrives at his Grandson *Charles*'s Court in *Flanders*, 365—sets a Negotiation on Foot to form a League against the *Turks*, *ib.*—the Treaty signed by *Maximilian* and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, *ib.* returns into *Germany*, *ib.*

Mahometans, 3000 converted in one Day, 33.

Mac-William, *Daniel*, and his *Wild Irish*, 253.

Macclesfield, Lord, 298.

Makvezzi, chosen General by the *Vene-*

- Venetians*, 55—forms the Siege of *Verona*, 62.
Mantua, Marquis of, 54—disappointed, 55—released from his Confinement, 64—enters into an Alliance with the Pope and the *Venetians*, *ib.*
Mantua, a Congress held there, 85.
Margaret, Countess of *Richmond* and *Derby*, dies, 19—founded two Colleges in *Cambridge*, *ib.* her Elogium, 20—her Epitaph by *Erasmus*, 21.
Mayor of *Oxford* discomfited, 332.
Margaret of *Savoy*, 157, 184, 186, 275, 366.
Margaret, Queen of *Scotland*, 192—made Regent, 251—writes to *Henry* the VIIIth, *ib.*—obtains a Truce, 252—endeavours to reform the Disorders of the Country, *ib.*—marries the Earl of *Angus*, 270—flies into *England*, 271—delivered of a Daughter, 272—treated with great Distinction at Court, 391—returns to *Edinburgh*, 363.
Margaret of *Clarence*, 206.
Margaret, Princess, 272.
Mary, Queen of *England*, 116.
Mary, Queen of *Scots*, 116.
Mary, Princess, 273.
Magistracy, Virtues necessary for, 297.
Marque, Letters of, 101, 205.
Magna Charta, 329.
Mackenzie, Kenneth, Earl of *Seaforth*, 199.
Marca-Trivigiana, Province of, 356.
Macklellan, Lord, 199.
Marborough, John, Duke of, 184—who never lost a Battle, educated at *St. Paul's* School, 385—takes *Tournay*, 340—Verses adapted thereto, 341.
Manners, Lady *Lucy*, 198.
Mary, Psalter of the *Virg.* 333.
Marr, Earl of, 198.
Mares, *Venetian*, 355.
March, Earl of, 197.
Mansfield, Earldom of, 373.
Malpas, Lord, 244.
Manchester, Free-school built at, 269.
Marigni, Lord, 243.
Martyr, *St. Thomas* the, 236.
Merchants, their Complaints readily listened to, 101.
Mecklin, Treaty of, 157—Articles of it, 158.
Mead, Dr. 359.
Medici, Cardinal *John* de, 131—exercises his Legateship, though a Prisoner, 134—rescued from the *French*, 137—makes his Party good in *Florence*, 139—is chosen Pope, 155—writes to *Henry* the VIIIth, 233—meets *Francis* the Ist near the Territories of *Reggio*, 279—writes to *Henry* in Favour of *Polydore Virgil*, 288—had no great Cause to solicit for Cardinal *Hedrian*, 289.
Medici to be restored, 138, 139.
Medici, *Lorenzo* de, General to Pope *Leo*, 279—marries the Heiress of *Bologne*, 359—stands Godfather to the Dauphin, *ib.*
Mentz, Archbishop of, appoints the *Jacobins* to preach the Crusade in *Saxony*, 372.
Milan, a General Council held at, 96—Castle of, holds out for the *French*, 138—restored to the *Sforza's*, 139.—Duke of, gets *Parma* and *Platentia*, 154—abandons his Capital on the Approach of the *French*, 159—retires to the *Swiss*, 160—returns again, 164—Dutchy of, 219—City of, capitulates, 277—Duke of, capi-

I N D E X.

- capitulates, *ib.*—is sent into France, *ib.*—Dutchey of, to be given to Henry the VIIIth, 344.
- Miller, Mr. 359.
- Milanese disown the Authority of Lewis's Council, 134.
- Mirandola besieged, 71—taken, 72.
- Modena, 60, 280.
- Modena, John de, poisons Cardinal Baynbridge, 234—killed himself, *ib.*
- Moncada, Hugh de, Viceroy of Sicily, besieged by the Rebels in his Palace at Palarno, 310—makes his Escape to Messina, *ib.*
- More, Sir Thomas, 110, 209—his Answer to a noted Pamphlet, 210—his Letter to Erasmus, relating to Warham and Wolsey, 302—accompanies the Recorder of London to Cardinal Wolsey, 379—is sent to the Dutchess of Savoy's Court, 385—gives his Friend Erasmus an Account of his Affairs, *ib.*—executes his Commission to the King's Satisfaction, 386—refuses a Pension, *ib.*—sets forth his Reasons for so doing, *ib.*—was Judge of the Sheriff's Court, 367—his Prudence, *ib.*
- More, O, 253—driven into the Woods, *ib.*
- Moor, Ludovic the, 277.
- Molinox, Sir William, 194.
- Molineux, Carol, Lord Visc. 194.
- Moncada, Earl of, quells the Rebellion in Sicily, 310.
- Molin, a Swiss Captain, 161.
- Moliar, Lord, 205.
- Montjoy, Lord, 189, 217—his Address to Cardinal Wolsey, 337—the Title extinct, 335—revived by King Charles the 1st, *ib.*
- Montjoy, William Lord, 335.
- Montrose, Earl of, 198—killed, *ib.*
- Montrose, Duke of, 198.
- Morton, Earl of, 197.
- Morris, Dr. John, expelled the University of Oxford, 334—submits and is received into it again, *ib.*
- Most Christian, Title of, conferred on Henry the VIIIth, 157.
- Mother of Charles, King of Spain, her Place of Residence, 367—her distracted Condition, *ib.*—recovers her Senses a little before her Death, *ib.*—makes a pious End, *ib.*—the miserable Condition of her Family, *ib.*
- Monteagle, Lord, 245.
- Money kept at home, 249—made Plenty without burthening the Subjects, 315.
- Mons, Sir George, 207.
- Mowberry, 205.
- Murray, Bishop of, Ambassador from Scotland, 98, 118, 271.
- Murray, William, Esq; 219.
- Munday, Sir John, 379.

N

- Naples, Spanish Forces arrive there, 100—annexed to the Crown of Spain, 308—threatened by Francis the 1st, 349—given as a Portion to Charles of Spain, 350.
- Navarro, Peter de, a Commander under Cardinal Ximenes, in the African Expedition, 34—is sent on a second Expedition, and beats the Moors, 72—loses between two and three thousand Men in another Engagement, *ib.*—returns to Spain, 73—General of the Spanish Infantry, 127—announces the French, 129—fights gallantly, 150—taken Prisoner, *ib.*—released, 217—

I N D E X.

commands an Army for the
 King of *Navarre*, 310—
 is defeated, 311—taken Pri-
 soner and sent into *Spain*,
 where he is confined some
 Years, *ib.*—dies in Prison, *ib.*
Narrow Seas, Sovereignty of the,
 161.
Napier, Sir Alexander, 199—
Francis, Lord, *ib.*
Navarre, King of, summoned
 by *Perdmand* to forsake *France*,
 121—does not comply, *ib.*
 retires into *France*, 122—his
 Kingdom almost subdued, *ib.*
 —entirely conquered, 124
 —King of, 250—dies of Grief,
 311.
Navarre, Kingdom of, annex-
 ed to the Crown of *Spain*,
 368—demanded of the King
 of *Spain*, 371.
Ne extant Regno, *Wris* of, 322.
Neville, the noble and illustrious
 Family of, 175.
Neville John, 179.
Newcastle, Duke of, 194, 384.
Nicholas the 11th, Pope, first
 brought Deacons and Cardi-
 nals into Estimation, 289.
Nithsdale, Earl of, 198.
Nobles of the Realm called thrice
 in a Year, 294.
Northampton, Earl of, 179.
Northampton, Parliament of, 323.
Nottingham, Parliament of, 323.
Northumberland, Earl of, 176.
Northesk, Earl of, 199.
Nobara, 160, 161.
Norton, *Chipping*, a Market-town
 in *Oxfordshire*, 182, 183.
Norfolk, Duke of. See *Howard*
 in Letter H.
Nottingham, Earl of, 299.
Nojon, Treaty of, 350.
Novary, Duke of, 83—defeats
Pratt's Party, *ib.*—made Go-
 vernor of the *Milanese*, 97—
 follows *Columb's* Maxim a-

gainst the *Swiss*, *ib.*—had
 the desired Effect, 98—suc-
 cours *Bologna*, 127—receives
 disagreeable News, 128—sets
 out with his Army for *Brescia*,
ib.—leaves a sufficient Force
 with *Laasca*, *ib.*—marches
 30 *Italian* Miles in one Day,
ib.—sends the Chevalier *Bap-
 ard* to attack *Baglione*, *ib.*—
 defeats him, 129—enters the
 Castle of *Brescia*, *ib.*—and in
 two bloody Engagements re-
 takes the Town, *ib.*—resolves
 to pursue the Allies and come
 to a decisive Battle, *ib.*—
 which they carefully avoided,
ib.—lays Siege to *Ravenna*,
ib.—the Battle there, *ib.*—
 sustains *Navarre's* Fire, *ib.*—
 makes great Havock amongst
 the Enemy, 130—takes *Na-
 varre's* Prisoners, and obtains a
 Victory, *ib.*—killed, *ib.*—
 called the *Thunderbolt of Italy*,
ib.—his Character, 131.

O

Oath, Lord Chancellor's, 297.
Oath, Coronation, appealed to,
 321.
Ockam, *William*, an English Wri-
 ter, 67.
Oden, 240.
Ottomas, an eminent Writer, 373.
Odonus, 240.
O Conner, 112.
O Carol, *Ely*, 364.
Ode on his Royal Highness the
 Prince of *Wales's* Marriage,
 273.
Office of Chancellor, 296.
Ogle, Sir *Challoner*, 199.
Oldham, *Hugh*, D. D. made
 Bishop of *Exeter*, 22—Bishop,
 268—his Character, 269—
 remarkable for preserving the
 Rights and Privileges of the
 Church,

Church, *ib.* — liberal and a great Encourager of Learning, *ib.* — denied a Fellowship for a Friend by *Exeter* College, *ib.* — a principal Benefactor to *Corpus Christi* College, *ib.* — dies excommunicated, *ib.* — absolved, *ib.* — buried, *ib.*
Onslow, *Arthur*, Esq; his Repri-
mand to three Justices of the
Peace, 274. & *sequenti.*
Ormus, an Island in the *Persian*
Gulph, taken by the *Portu-*
guese, 31.
Ormsund, *James*, Lord Treasurer
of *Ireland*, 150, 364.
Ortiz, *Truce* of, 154.
Orange, *Princess* of, 273.
Oren, *Principality* of, annexed
to the *Crown* of *Spain*, 380.
O Toole, *Slaney*, killed in Battle,
364.
Orator, *Henry* the *VIIIth's*, at
Rome, 266.
Orvery, *Earl* of, 259 — educated
at *St. Paul's* School, 305.
Orford, *Earl* of, 204.
Orleans, *Loys de*, 228.
Ormond, *Earl* of, 274.
Ormond, the late unfortunate
Duke of, 274.
Oughtred, *Sir Anthony*, 179.
Owen, *Sir David*, 168 — *Henry*
the *VIIIth's* Letter to him, *ib.*
Offory, *Earl* of, 274.
Ox, *College* of, in *Padua*, 357.
Oxford, *John* *Earl* of, continued
in the Possession of the *Castle*
of *Colchester*, 18.
Oxford and *Mortimer*, *Edward*
Harley *Earl* of, 194.
Oxford, *University* of, its Rights
confirmed, by *Henry*, 110 — *St.*
Mary's Church there beautified,
212 — *Chancellor* of, 216, 333
— *Commissary* of, 241 — lose
the *Pope's* Bulls, 331 — are
restored to them, *ib.* — burnt,
332 — the *City* *Bailiffs* attempt

a Breach on the Privileges of
the *University*, *ib.* — apply to
Cardinal Walsey, *ib.* — obtain
a Charter by his Means agree-
ble to their Wishes, *ib.* —
summon the *Bailiffs* who con-
fess their Crimes, *ib.* — pass
Sentence upon them, 333 —
the *Citizens* highly displeased
at the Sentence, *ib.* — com-
plain to the King against the
Scholars, *ib.* — miscarry in
their Application through *Wal-*
sey's Means, *ib.* — apply to the
Chancellor of *Oxford* for a
Revocation of the Sentence, *ib.*
— granted on certain Condi-
tions by the King, *ib.* — pay
Costs to the *University*, *ib.* —
the *Townsmen* give the *Uni-*
versity further Disturbances,
334 — apply again to *Walsey*,
their Patron, *ib.* — who pro-
cures them a remarkable Char-
ter, *ib.* — they expel *Dr. John*
Morris, *ib.*

P

Padua, *People* thereof, 45 — ta-
ken by the *Venetians*, *ib.* —
besieged by the *Emperor*, 49
— which was soon raised,
50 — *University* of, opened,
356 — compared to that of *A-*
thens, 357 — frequented from
all Parts of the *World*, *ib.* —
its present State, *ib.*
Palisse, *Monf. la*, a *Commander* of
the *French* Forces in *Italy*, 46
— made *General* of the *French*,
131 — returns to *Milan*, 132
— has orders to send the most
Part of the *Gens d'Arms* into
France, *ib.* his Forces incon-
siderable, *ib.* — recalls *St. Se-*
verin and his Troops from
Romagna, 134 — despairing of
saving the *Milanese*, resolves

- to retire into *France*, 137—
Cardinal Medicis rescued from
 him, *ib.*—commands under
Longueville, 179—taken Pri-
 soner, 180—made a Marshal
 of *France*; 276.
- Padua*, antient City of; its Si-
 tuation, 396—Hall of, the
 fairest in *Christendom*, 357—
 its School, Anatomick Thea-
 tre, and Physick-garden, *ib.*
- Pavia*, Cardinal of, Legate at
Bologna, 91—makes his Escape,
ib.—is murdered; 93.
- Paul*, St. his Sword, 65.
- Paris*, Archbishop of, 87.
- Paris*, *John de*, 243.
- Palermo*, Place of, plundered by
 Rebels, 310.
- Paphlagonia*, the *Venetians* came
 from thence, 355.
- Parliament*, Members of, 260,
 261—Rolls of, 263.
- Parliament*, History of the High
 Court of, 294.
- Patent*, when Creations by it
 took Place, 326.
- Parma*; submits to the Pope, 137
 —delivered to the Duke of
Milan, 154—guarded by the
 Pope's Troops, 279.
- Paul's*, School of St. founded,
 305—Worthies educated at
 it, *ib.*
- Pamplona* besieged, 122—sur-
 renders, *ib.*
- Parr*, *William*, Earl of *Effex*,
 177.
- Patrick*, St. his Church, 150.
- Pace*, his Letter to *Henry* the
 VIIIth, on Cardinal *Bayn-*
bridge's Death, 234—well re-
 ceived, 235—employed by
Wolfey, *ib.*—*Henry's* Minister
 at the Emperor *Maximilian's*
 Court, 342—sends Cardinal
Wolfey an Account of what
Maximilian had projected a-
 gainst *France*, 343—his inge-
 nous Freedom in a Letter to
Wolfey, 346—his Letter to
Henry on *Maximilian's* Con-
 duct, 348.
- Peter*, St. his Keys, 65—his
 Dialogue with Pope *Julius*
 the IIId, 93—Institutor of
 Cardinals, 317.
- Peasants*, *Venetian*; their remark-
 able Zeal, 62—compared to
 that of the *Austrians*; &c. 63.
- Peebie*, Sir *John*, 19.
- Peers*, Temporal, Noble in Vir-
 tue of their Fiefs, 326.
- Pension* granted by the King of
Spain to Cardinal *Wolfey*, 366.
- Penance*, an uncommon one, 112.
- Pescaira*, Marquis of, 130.
- Peschiera*, taken by the *Vene-*
tians, 160.
- Petre*, Lord, 176.
- Peace*, Justices of, 261.
- Pecke*, Sir *John*, 245.
- Pembroke*, Earl of, 204.
- Pembroke hall*, at *Cambridge*, 216.
- Physicians*, Royal College of in
London, 359.
- Pharisees*, 209.
- Pisa*, General Council of, called,
 94—opened, 96—threatned
 to be invaded, *ib.*—rejoice,
ib.—excommunicated, 133—
 the Emperor protests against it,
 140—comes to nothing, 218.
- Pitigliano*, Count of, made Go-
 vernor of *Padua*, 47—dies,
 54—his Character, *ib.*
- Plague* in *Spain*, 371.
- Placard* at *Rimini*, 94.
- Placencia* submits to the Pope,
 137—delivered to the Duke
 of *Milan*, 154—guarded by
 the Pope's Troops, 279.
- Plesso*, du, his Words from *Maxi-*
milian, 153.
- Pliny*, the Historian, 355.
- Portugal*, Affairs of, 30.

I N D E X.

Po, River of, 355.
Ports, Lords of *Bafing*, 22.
Poynings, Sir *Edward*, 2—commands the left Wing of King *Henry's* Army at *Turwine*, 178.
Poll-tax, what, 142.
Pole, *Richard de la*, engaged in a Conspiracy against *England*, 339.
Pontremy, Governor of *Turwine*, 178.
Port, *Ottoman*, adds new Acquisitions to its Empire, 364—makes the *Christian* Princes jealous, 365.
Portland, Duke of, 194.
Portsmouth, Dutchess of, 197.
Pule, *Richard de la*, 206—Brother to the unfortunate Earl of *Suffolk*, 282.
Pope's Letter to Archbishop *Cibele*, relating to Precedency, 317—publishes a Crusade, 371.
Popes, their Right to fill vacant Sees, 233.
Portraiture of a fine Woman, the Power of it, 225.
Pope, *Alexander*, Esq; his Letter to Mr. *Gay*, 320.
Powis, Marquis of, 204.
Prato, *Lemard de*, in *Ambush*, 83—killed, *ib*.
Prerogative of the Crown, 3.
Prescription, Right of, 66.
Promoters, 4—executed, *ib*.
Prussia, King of, 19.
Pragmatick Sanction abolished, 279.
Pratt, *Anthony du*, Chancellor of *France*, 276.
Premunire, 207—Convocation under one, 325.
Priests, Secular, married, 325—why they live single, *ib*.
Preachers of the *Crusade* rediculed, 372.
Prize taken from all *France* by

the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Marquis of *Barlet*, 247.
Preverb, an *English* one, 261.
Prophecy, relied upon by the *Irish*, 364.
Publick Monies, Emphazation of them rigorously punished, 374.
Purgatory, Souls immediately redeemed out of, 372.

Q

Queenstonsburgh, Duke of, 199.
Quintana, a Spanish Minister at *Paris*, 219.

R

Rapin's Remarks on the Case of *Emper* and *Dudley*, 2—on King *Henry's* Conduct, 24, 80—Reasons for *Ramburgh's* Promotion to the Cardinalate, 105—Remarks on the Treaties concluded at *Rome* and in *England*, 110—his Charge on *Wolsey's* Conduct groundless, 144—an Enemy to *Wolsey*, 173—mistaken in his Remarks on the Treaty concluded between *Henry* and *Louis*, 231—answered, 232—Reflections on *Henry* and his Prime Minister's Conduct, 284—answered, 285—abuses the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, *ib*. 286—charges *Paphor King* with being a partial Historian in respect to *Wolsey*, 289—yet makes use of his Authority, *ib*.—reflects on *Wolsey*, 291, 292—a virulent Writer, 293—his *Sayse*, 294—charges *Wolsey* with pleasing nobody but the King, 304—refuted, 302—foiled, 339—his Remark on the Treaty of *Noten*, 351—lost in his Reasoning,

foning, 352—his Remark on
Henry's not complying with
 Pope *Leo's* Request, a Com-
 pliment to *Wolsey*, 376—erro-
 neous in his Account, 382.
Radcliffe, Sir *Robert*, 176.
Ravenna, Battle of, 129—taken,
 131—restored to the Church,
 138.
Records, a Place appointed for
 them, 329.
Reformation, the Fore-runner of
 it, 371—first Occasion of it,
 372—gets Birth, 375.
Reformation of the Church, 299.
Reflections on the Observations
 of Authors relating to *Wolsey's*
Administration, 149.
Repts, Court of, instituted,
 316.
Regent Man of War and the Car-
 rick of *Brest* burnt, 126.
Regis submits to the Pope, 137
 —City of, 80.
Reisley, O, killed, 253.
Rene, Princess of France, 222—
 Overtures for her Marriage
 with *Charles of Austria*, 248.
Reis, Sir *John*, Lt. Mayor of *Lon-*
don, sent for by *Wolsey*, 378—
 their Conference, *ib.*—calls
 a Court of *Aldermen*, *ib.*—
 their Orders to the House-
 keepers of *London*, 379—makes
 Proclamation, *ib.*—waits upon
 the King, 381—attends on
Wolsey, 382—appears in *West-*
minster-hall, *ib.*—reprimanded
 by *Wolsey*, *ib.*
Rimini, Phœar'd Act, for calling
 a General Council, 94.
Rioters, Proceedings stopped a-
 gainst them, 380—three hun-
 dred brought with Halbers a-
 bout their Necks to *Westmin-*
ster-hall, 381—cry to the K.
 for Mercy, *ib.*—interceded

for, *ib.*—pardoned, 383—
 their Joy, *ib.*
Rice, *John* Ap, 171.
Richmond, Duke of, 197.
Richard the IIId, Affairs in his
 Time, 326.
Richard the IIIId, 205.
Roses, red and white, 75.
Rome, General Council to be
 held there, 97—not first call-
 ed *Babylon* by Protestants, 134
 —Meeting at, 139—Treaty
 at, *ib.*—Sec of, 208—Gates
 of, 236.
Romagna, Fortresses of, 131—
 lost, 134—restored to the
 Church, 138.
Rochester, Bishop of, 132—en-
 tertained by *Wolsey*, 290.
Rokeby, Dr. holds a Provincial
 Synod at *Dublin*, 150.
Ross, Lord, 198.
Romans, Epistle to the, explain-
 ed, 374.
Roan, President of, 228.
Robertel, 242.
Rolls, Master of, 234—a great
 Officer of the Court of Chan-
 cery, 298.
Rolls, Garden de, 298.
Rotulorum Custos, 228.
Rotulorum Clericum, 298.
Rutbal, *Thomas*, made one of
Henry the VIIIth's Privy-
 Council, and Bishop of *Dur-*
ham, 2.
Rutland, Duke of, his Descent,
 176—Dutcheis of, 198.
Rassel, Sir *John*, Deputy Go-
 vernor of *Tournay*, 335—re-
 monstrates against the Garri-
 son of *Tournay's* being paid
 Half-yearly, 336.
Russel, *John*, recommended by
Philip of *Castile* to *Henry* the
 VIIIth, 335—makes him a
 Gentleman of his Privy-
 Cham-

I N D E X.

Chamber, *ib.*—is knighted by Henry the VIIth, — created Earl of Bedford, *ib.*
Ruffel, John, Duke of Bedford, 335.

S

Salmon, his Remarks, 5—his Reply to *Rapin*, 186.

St. John's College, Cambridge, 20.

St. John, Sir John, Executor to the Countess of Richmond and Derby, 22—*William de, ib.*—*Henry Lord Viscount, ib.*—*Henry, late Lord Bolingbroke,* 23.

St. Juan del Pie del Puerto, taken, 123.

St. John, Lord Prior of, 175.

St. Severin, Cardinal, 131— commands in *Romagna*, 132.

St. Clair, Lord, 198.

St. Edmund's-Bury, Abbot of, 213.

St. Saviour's Bermondsey, Monastery of, 213.

Sampson, Dr. 263.—Collector of Bishop *Wolsey's* Dues in the Diocese of *Tournay*, 264—opposed, *ib.*—writes to *Wolsey* concerning this Affair, *ib.*—retires to *Bruges*, 265—well rewarded for his Services by *Wolsey, ib.*—made a Bishop and Privy-Counsellor; *ib.* shews his Gratitude to *Wolsey, ib.*

Salisbury, Earls of, 175.

Sarum, Countess of, 207.

Saxony, Elector of, 374.

Savoy, Margaret of, 205—made Governess of the Low Countries, 266.

Savoy, Dutchess of, 285.

Saxe-gotha, Princess of, 273.

Sedunan, Scant Vitall, Cardinal, 169.

Scandalum Magnatum, Statute of, made, 329.

Scriptures, Holy, Cardinal Ximenes's Edition of them, 312.

Swiss Alliance ended with France; 6c—Demands for a Renewal, *ib.*—engage in the Pope's Interest, *ib.*—eager to fight the French, 61—rendevouz at *Bellinzane, ib.*—being harrassed by *Chamont,* return home, *ib.*—Enemies to the Most Christian King, 86—favoured by the Emperor, *ib.*—assist the Pope, 97—march to the Gates of *Milan, ib.*—harrassed by *Nemours, ib.*—return home, 98—threaten to invade *Milan,* 132—hold a Parliament, 134—provoked against *Louis, ib.* 135—some Account of their Original and Government, *ib.*—march to the Pope's Assistance, 136—joined by the *Venetians at Verona, ib.*—shut up in *Come and Navarra,* 160—contemn the French, *ib.*—a *Switz* Captain encourages his Countrymen to attack the French, 161—beat the French, 163—return to *Novara* victorious and loaded with Booty, 164—this Victory compared to those of the *Greek or Romans, ib.*—follow their Victory into *France,* 165—encamp before *Dijon, ib.*—agree to evacuate *France, ib.*—get Hostages and return home, *ib.*—insist on the Capitulation of *Dijon,* 219—listen to *Ferdinand's* Proposals, 276—fierce on the Passes into the *Milanese* and oppose the French, *ib.*—refuse *Francis* the 1st's Offers and attacks him, 277—
 —they

they are routed, *ib.*—return home Pennylefs, *ib.*—enter into a Treatise with *Francis*, 281—five Cantons refuse to ratify the Treaty, *ib.*—the other Cantons would not undertake any thing against the five, 282—join the *French*, 347—demand their Pay of *Maximilian* in a clamorous Manner and refuse to fight, *ib.*

Scotland, Affairs of, 100, 117—included in a Truce between *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, 154—Affairs of, 189, 251, 269—Ecclesiastical Preferments of, 270—Affairs of, 361—*Scot.* a bold one, takes *English* Ships, 101—Description of the *Scotch*, 270—they are displeased with the Queen for marrying the Earl of *Angus*, *ib.*—choose the Duke of *Albany* Regent, disliked by *Henry* the VIIIth, *ib.*—engaged in a Conspiracy against *England*, 339.

Searching of Ships, 53.

Senate of *Venice* make a noble Act, 46.

Seaforth, Earl of, 200.

Seagrave, 205.

Seaton, Lord, 199.

Sea-fight, 126.

Seamour, Sir *John*, 184.

Selue, *John de*, 228.

Sees, vacant, how filled, 214.

Servetius, 218.

Self-interest, 159.

Shannon, Lord, 259.

Shrewsbury, Earl of, 175—Duke of, his Descent, *ib.*—Earl of, 379—attends the King in *Westminster-hall*, 382.

Shervin, a Rioter, executed, 380.

Sicily, Eagle of, 103—Rebellion in, 310.

Sickness, Sweating, 239—in *England*, 384—continues from *June* to *December*, 385—is succeeded by a great Drought, *ib.*

Sidney, *William*, 103.

Siege of *Padua*, 49—raised, 50.

Sigismund of *Austria*, 86.

Sforza, *Maximilian*, to be restored, 138—put into Possession of *Parma* and *Placentia*, 154—quits *Milan* and retires among the *Swiss*, 160—returns and takes Possession once more, 164—sent into *France*, 277—his Brother *Francisco* enters into the Treaty with *Henry*, 283.

Sforza, House of, 343—able to pay *Henry* the VIIIth his Expences in the Reduction of *Milan*, 346—writes to *Henry*, *ib.*

Slaney, Lord, 253.

Spaene, Sir *Hans*, his noble Present to the *Apothecaries Company*, 399.

Smith, Bishop of *Lincoln*, 212—his Rise and Character, 216.

Smithfield, a Place of Execution, 209.

Smithson, Sir *Hugh*, 184.

Sophia, Princess, 272.

Somerset, *John* Duke of, 20.

Soldiers, German, 246.

Somerset, Marquis of, 231.

Southesk, Earl of, 199.

Spain, Affairs of, 32, 72, 98, 151, 275, 306—Council of, 371—visited with a Plague, *ib.*

Spaniards join the Emperor *Maximilian*, 47—*Spanish* Spear-men, 59—*Spaniards* conquer *Nasurra*, 124—take the Field in *Italy*, 127—lay Siege

I N D E X.

- to Bologna, *ib.*—raise it and retire to Imola, 128—march to Ravenna, 129—forced in their Intrenchments, 130—defeated, *ib.*—kill General Nemours, *ib.*—defeat the Venetians and take several of their Towns, 154—surrender Brescia, 348.
- Spinuel, Sir Thomas*, gives Wolsey Intelligence of the Designs of France against Tournay, 338.
- Spearmen* appointed, 19.
- Spirit*, true English, 101.
- Spiritual Court Proceedings*, 207.
- Sports*, Battle of, 180.
- Standish, Dr.* cited before the Convocation, 320—Articles exhibited against him, *ib.*—interrogated, *ib.*—charged by Archbishop Warham, 321—applies to the King for Protection, *ib.*—Convocation-bill read, 332—his Answer, 324—his Rejoinder to the Clergy's Reply, *ib.*—is seconded by Vesey, *ib.*—his Answer to the Bishop of Winchester, 327—dismissed from his Troubles, 331—refuses to preach against Foreigners, 377.
- Stapicius, John*, 374.
- Steenkirk, Battle of*, 335.
- Story*, a strange one, of Oliver Cromwell, 299.
- Strabo*, his Account of the Pen-tian Mares, 355.
- Strange, Sir John*, 305.
- Statutes of the Parliament of Clarendon*, 322.
- Stafford, Lord*, 1, 2—created Earl of Wiltshire, and made Knight of the Garter, *ib.*
- Stanley, Sir Edward*, 194.
- Stanley, Dr. James*, dies, 267.
- Stirling, Assembly of Peers at*, 251—Castle, 271.
- Stipend Parliamentary*, 160.
- Stow's Account relating to the Place where King Henry was married*, 17.
- Stowe*, his Account of Henry's Motives to declare War against Lewis, &c. 168—answered, *ib.*—his Observation, 205.
- Stuart, Alexander*, 199.
- Stuarts, Royal Family of*, reflected on by Rapin, 286—King George the 1st descended from them, *ib.*
- Stuart, Sir William*, 333.
- Suffolk, Earl of*, his Death, 177—beheaded, 178—Henry the VIIIth's Orders relating to him, *ib.*
- Suffolk, Duke of*, 204.
- Suffolk, Earl of*, 214.
- Supplication of Beggars*, 210.

T

- Talbot, George, Earl of Shrewsbury*, 2, 175.
- Talbot, Bishop of Durham*, 175.
- Talbot, Lord Chancellor*, *ib.* 303.
- Talbot, William Lord*, 175.
- Talbot, John*, 175.
- Talbot, Gilbert*, 177.
- Taxes*, few, 27—taken off the Subjects after a War, 350.
- Taylor, Dr.* made Master of the Rolls, 331.
- Tars, jolly English*, 166.
- Tinler, Author of the*, his Description of the Manner of Fighting at the Siege of Tournay, 340—a Letter by him inserted to Lewis the XIVth, *ib.*
- Tapestry*, an exquisite Piece of, 265.
- Tavistock, Abbot of*, 209.
- Tavern, Free-school built at*, 269.
- Tenderden, Church of*, 212.

Testament, Greek, printed as it was written by the Apostles, 304.

Termini, Duke of, joins *Chaumont*, 59.

Thetford, 295.

Therougaud, Mr., entertains Colonel *Lindley*, a Witness to Oliver *Cromwell's* Bargain with the Devil, 301.

Thompson, his Ode on the Prince of *Wales's* Marriage, 273.

Tiling and Feasting in Spain, 371.

Tourney besieged and taken, 192—

Inscription on its Gate, *ib.*—Treaty of, 185—Bishop there-

of refuses to swear Fealty to *Henry*, 188—the Inhabitants do it, *ib.*—*Wolsey* made Bi-

shop of it, *ib.*—and Governor thereof for *Henry*, 189—

the Canonry of it promised to *Erasmus*, 217—Affairs of,

261—Chapter of, *ib.*—prefer an *English* Student, 262—their

Respect to *Wolsey*, *ib.*—Canons of, 263—write to *Wolsey*, 264.

Garrison of, to be paid Half-yearly by the King's Orders,

326—the Governor, &c. re-

sponds against it, *ib.* 337—

their Complaints redressed, *ib.*—the Garrison mutiny, *ib.*

are pardoned, *ib.*—in Danger of being surprized, 338—

in more Danger, *ib.*—Arrears paid to the Garrison, *ib.*—the

Magistrates come to *London*, 339—

Governor sends an Account to Cardinal *Wolsey* of the Con-

spiracy formed against *Eng-*

land, 340—1200 Workmen sent to it, *ib.*—the *Tyrnais* kept

in *Awa*, *ib.*—restored by Treaty, *ib.*—taken again, retaken,

and rendered impregnable, *ib.*—taken by the Duke of *Marl-*

borough, *ib.*—the *French* put

a lofty Inscription on one of its Half-moons, 341—its Gar-

risons made Prisoners of War,

342.

Toledo, Archbishoprick of, con-

ferred on the Bishop of *Cam-*

bray, 371.

Tas-baldon, Manor of, 234.

Tournaments proclaimed at *Pa-*

ris, 246—Two *English* No-

blemen carry away the Prize

from thence, 247.

Trade encouraged, 205.

Trenchard, Sir *Thomas*, entertains

Philip of *Castile*, 335.

Free of *Commonwealsh*, 12.

Treaty concluded between the Em-

peror and the King of *France*,

77—between *Henry* and King

Ferdinand, 79—several be-

tween *France* and *England*, 229,

230, 231.

Treating, instead of Fighting, 70.

Trivulce, *Alexander*, Governor

of *Mirandola*, 72—succeeds

Chaumont, 82—goes in quest

of the Pope's and *Venetian* Ar-

mies, *ib.*—retrieves *la Bassia*,

ib.—miscarries in a Scheme,

83—takes *Concorda*, 89—en-

camps at *Buen-porto*, 90—

crosses the *Panaro*, marches to

Bologna, attended by the *Ben-*

tivogli, *ib.*—slow in his march,

91—rests at *Bologna*, 92—

marches and encamps at Castle

St. Pietro, *ib.*—disengages

the Duke of *Ferrara* from

Holy Fetters, *ib.*—charged

with Negligence, 95—resigns

his Command, 97.

Trimowille, Marshal *la*, sent to

command for *Lewis* in *Italy*,

159—arrives on the Borders of

the *Milanese*, *ib.*—most of the

Towns of *Milan* submit to him,

160—puts a Garrison into

Alexandria, and lays Siege to

Navar-

I N D E X.

Navarra, *ib.*—routed by the *Swiss*, 161—wounded, 163—retires to *Piedmont*, 164—capitulates with the *Swiss*, 165.
Trimoville, *la*, 219.
Troop, Holy, 127.
Tunstal, charged with an Affair from Cardinal *Wolsey*, 349—satisfies the Cardinal therein, and represents the State of *Maximilian*, and of *Charles* King of *Spain*, *ib.*
Turwine besieged, 176—gallantly defended, 178—surrenders, 180—demolished, *ib.*—repaired, 181.
Turks enlarge their Dominions, 364—their growing Greatness alarms the Pope, 371.
Tumult in *London*, 379—suppressed by the Citizens, 380.
Tweedale, Marquis of, 199.
Tyttes, the Clergy no Right to demand them, 209.
Tyrawley, *James* Lord, 335.
Tyrconnel, Duke of, 335.

V

Varillas, his Account of a Treaty concluded between the Emperor and the King of *France*, 67.
Vatican Manuscripts, 313.
Valley-Men, 135.
Vandome, Duke *de*, 246.
Verona, willing to receive the *Venetians*, 50.—besieged by the *Venetians*, 62—relieved by *Cbaumont*, 63—besieged, 348—the Enemy repulsed, *ib.*—to be restored by the Emperor to the *Venetians*, 351—restored, 353—great Rejoicing by the Inhabitants, 356.
Vernon, Admiral, 199.

Vesey, Dr. Dean of the Chapel to *Henry*, 322—consulted by the King on *Standish's* Affair, *ib.*—seconds him, 325.
Vicenza taken by the *Venetians*, 50—abandoned by the *Germans* and *French*, 56—their Effects given to the Soldiers, *ib.*
Vienne, Council of, 317.
Vich, *Jerom de*, an intriguing Minister in the Pope's Interest, 87.
Villaboa, *Ferdinand de*, defeats the King of *Navarre's* Forces, 111.
Vidame, or Judge, at *Ferrara*, 53.
Vitfrost, the Emperor's Commissary, demands the Citadel of *Bologna*, 92.
Villa Viciosa, in *Asturias*, 366.
Virgil, *Polydor*, his Account of *Wolsey*, 148—made Deputy Collector in *England*, and Archdeacon of *Wells*, 171,—naturalized, and made Canon of *St. Paul's*, *ib.*—his History of *England*, *ib.*—an Enemy to *Wolsey*, 173—a disingenuous Writer, 183—Pope's Deputy Collector in *England* under *Hadrian*, 287—confined by *Henry* the VIIIth's Order, *ib.*—misrepresents the King's and *Wolsey's* Action to the Pope, *ib.*—*Leo* and Cardinal *Medici* intercede with *Henry* for him, 288—released out of the Tower, 289—no more the Pope's Deputy, *ib.*—writes the History of *England*, *ib.*—his Suspensions of *Wolsey* the only Cause of his Invectives, *ib.*—a partial Historian, *ib.*
Ulster invaded and reduced, 364.
Universal Monarchy, Projects of it defeated, 342.
Voltaire, 250.

Urbino,

Urbino, Duke of, 80, 93, 350,
354.
Utretch, Treaty of, 274.
Ulster, an Expedition into it,
150.
Venetians reduced almost to De-
spair, 37—demand Peace of
Spain and the Emperor, *ib.*—
send the Cardinals *Grimini* and
Cornaro to the Pope, 42—
who receives them with Dis-
dain, 43—are favoured by
the Pope, 44—take *Padua*,
45—and *Legnano*, 46—ex-
empt their Subjects from Taxes,
and make good their Losses in
the War, *ib.*—take Methods
for defending *Padua*, 48—
become Masters of *Vicenza*, 50
—take several Places in *Friuli*
and *Istria*, *ib.*—attempted
Ferrara, *ib.*—are absolved
by the Pope, 54—raise an
Army, *ib.*—their chief Ge-
neral dies, *ib.*—they name
others, 55—send secret A-
gents to the Diet at *Augsburg*,
ib.—besiege *Verona*, 62—
the remarkable Zeal of their
Peasants, *ib.*—their Soldiers
want Courage, 63—raise the
Siege, and retire to *St. Boni-
face*, *ib.*—release the Mar-
quis of *Mantua*, 64—enter
into an Alliance with him, *ib.*
—flatter the Pope, 65—
their Forces retire, *ib.*—their
Affairs unprosperous, 66—
design to pillage the *Ferra-
rese*, *ib.*—their Fleet destroyed,
ib.—disappoint the Pope's
Expectation, 69—they enter
Bologna, 70—retire to *Buen-
dono*, 82—defeated by the
Duke of *Ferrara*'s Fleet, 83
—send a Minister to *Mantua*,
87—the Terms of a Peace
with the Emperor, 88—keep
pace with *Trivulka*, 90—

encamp at *Casalechio*, *ib.*—
enter into a League against
France, 99—their Designs on
England, 104—send an Am-
bassador thither, *ib.*—make
their Use of *Ferdinand*'s Ne-
gociations, 107—ready to
take the Field, 127—lay
Siege to *Bologna*, in Conjun-
ction with the *Holy Troops* and
the *Spaniards*, *ib.*—raise it
and retire to *Imola*, 128—
take *Brescia*, *ib.*—lose it and
8000 Men, 129—defeated at
Ravenna, 130—for coming
to any Terms with the *French*,
132—prevented, *ib.*—joined
by the *Swiss*, 136—march
towards the *Milanese*, *ib.*—
many Towns submit to them,
137—a Treaty proposed to
them, though unsuccessful,
139—excluded from the
League of *Rome*, 140—will-
ing to have a strict Union with
France, 151—concludes a
League with *Lewis*, 159—
make *Alviano* General, *ib.*—
take *Peschiera* and *Brescia*, 160
—routed by the *Spaniards*,
—brought again to a low Ebb,
ib.—chuse the Pope Umpire
between the Emperor and
them, *ib.*—reject the Pope's
provisional Sentence, 221—
lose their General, 278—
provide generously for his Fa-
mily, *ib.*—take *Brescia* a second
Time, *ib.*—assisted by the
French, *ib.*—made *Lautrec*
several Presents for his Ser-
vices, *ib.*—*Maximilian* offers
them Peace, 344—assisted by
the *French*, 347—take *Brescia*
a third Time, 348—lay
Siege to *Verona*, but are re-
pulsed, *ib.*—conclude a Truce
with *Maximilian*, 353—al-
low him 20,000 Crowns year-
ly,

- ly, *ib.*—great Joy among them, 355—*an Account of their Establishment in Italy, ib.*—their Expences in the War, 356—take Taxes off their Subjects, *ib.*—re-establish the University of Padua, *ib.*—take Measures for recovering Trade, 357.
Venice, how governed, 356.
- W
- Wales, his Royal Highness FREDERICK, Prince of, 273—his Descent, Marriage, &c. ib.*
*Warham, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor, 2—opposes the King's Marriage, 16—crowns the King and Queen, 18—receives a Letter from the Pope, 78—obeys his Holiness's Injunction, 79—advises the King to restore the Rights of the University of Oxford, 110—proceeds against Hereticks, 111—his Speech in Parliament, 115—a Friend to Erasmus, 217—meets the Messenger that brought Wolsey the Cardinal's Hat, 290—resigns the Great Seal, 291—Sir Thomas More's Account of him, 302—disputes the Precedency with Wolsey, 317—who takes place of him as Cardinal, 319—loses the Controversy, *ib.*—exhibits Articles against Dr. Standish, 321—and opposes him, 327—answers Judge Fincaux, 328—petitions the King in the Name of the Clergy, 330.
War approved of by the Parliament, 115.
Wales, Laws of, changed, 330.
*Wales, President of, 149, 217.**
- Wallop, Sir John, 166—escapes with great Difficulty, ib. 206.*
Warrington, Earl of, 194.
Wan, Lord de la, 249.
Warwick, the unfortunate Earl of, 207.
Weston, ———, receives the Eagle of Sicily, 104.
Waring, Sir Clement, his Speech, 298.
Westlingius, a famous Anatomist, 358.
*West, Dr. Nicholas, 117—Dean of Windsor, made Bishop of Ely, 267—his Rise, *ib.*—educated at Eaton, 268—sent to Cambridge, *ib.*—expelled for his bad Conduct, *ib.*—received in again, *ib.*—and sent Ambassador into France, 254.*
West, John, a noted Baker at Putney, 267.
Westminster, the King's Palace there burnt, 125—the City of, 262.
West-scone, Monastery of, 102.
Westmoreland, Earl of, 175—the present Earl's Descent, 179.
Weymouth, Viscountess of, 259.
Wiltshire, Earl of, 2, 177, 382.
Wilson, Lord Grey of, 384.
Winchelcombe, Abbot of, 321.
Winchester, Statute of, 330.
Wilmington, Earl of, 179, 305.
Winchester, Lord of, 234.
Winton, Earl of, 199.
Wingfield, Sir Richard, sent to the Imperial Court, 343—his Letter to the King, 348.
Wirtemberg, Duke of, 165.
Windsor, Dean of, sent Ambassador to Scotland, 117—Herald of, 123—more of him, 245.
Wingfield, Sir Robert, sent Ambassador to the General Council at Rome, 133—into France, 254—ordered to make fresh Demands

Démarches on Francis, 283—
the French King's Answer to
him; *ib.*

Wickliff, his Preface to the Bi-
ble, 208.

Worcester, Earl of. See *Her-
bert*.

Worcester, Bishop of, 132—Am-
bassador to the General Coun-
cil at Rome, 133—charged
with *Baynbridge's* Death, 234
—continued in the King's Fa-
vour, 235—ordered to get
the Bull revoked, 266—ob-
tains another Bull, *ib.*

Worcester, how the King was
worsted there, 299.

Wolsey appointed Almoner, 3—
in great Esteem with the King,
ib.—the King presents *Emp-
son's* House, &c. to him, 13
—recommended by the Bishop
of Winchester, 28—not con-
sulted on the Treaty concluded
between Henry the VIIIth and
Ferdinand, 80—made Privy-
Counsellor and Reporter of
the Proceedings in the Star-
Chamber, *ib.*—gains still more
Favour with the King, *ib.*—
attends the King wherever he
resides, 105—his Letter to
Bishop *Rox*, *ib.*—constantly
consults his old Patron, 107
—made Prebend of *Bugthorp*
and Dean of *York*, *ib.*—is com-
plimented by Cardinal *Bayn-
bridge*, *ib.*—advises the King
to restore the Rights of the
University of *Oxford*, 110—
procures the Marquis of *Dor-
set* (his first Patron's Son) the
chief Command of the Forces
sent to *Spain*, 119—his grate-
ful Expressions to the Marquis,
120—promotes the Navy and
brought the Building of large
Ships first into use, 123—

enters on the Ministry and
closely employed in State-aff-
airs, *ib.*—his Suspicions of the
King of *Spain* well grounded,
126—commends the King's
Conduct, *ib.*—retains the
highest Respect for his old
Patron, 127—intrusted by
the King to assist in the Prepa-
rations for invading *France*,
143—*Henry* highly pleased
with his Indefatigableness, *ib.*
gets the Advantage over all
the other Courtiers, *ib.*—
his Speech to the King, 145—
ordered to dispatch the King's
chiefest Affairs, 147—*Mr. Col-
lier's* Account of him, *ib.*—
Polydor Virgil's Account of
him, 148—advises the King
to the Study of good Litera-
ture, *ib.*—another Author's
Account of him, *ib.*—remon-
strates to *Henry* the Errors he
had committed since his Ac-
cession to the Throne, *ib.*—
his Observations on the King's
Temper, 149—his Admi-
nistration compared to that
which succeeded him, *ib.*—
the Pope and the Ambassadors
abroad court his Friendship,
ib.—has great Weight at
Court, *ib.*—is made Dean of
Hereford, and Chancellor of
the most noble Order of the
Garter, *ib.*—justified against
Strope, 168—had no hand
in the Earl of *Suffolk's* Death,
173—hasten the Preparations
for embarking the Army, 174
—attends on him to *France*,
176—advises *Henry* to keep
Tournay as a Trophy, 184—
made Bishop of *Tournay*, 188
—congratulated on the Success
of his Master's Arms by *Bayn-
bridge*, *ib.*—his Advice to the
King

K k k 2

King with regard to *Ferdinand's* Overture, 189—appoints a Vicar General in *Tournay*, *ib.*—keeps an assiduous Look-out, *ib.*—draws Queen *Catherine's* Resentment upon him, *ib.*—highly pleased with his Master's Disposition for Peace, 203—advises the King to encourage *Trade*, 205—gains the general Esteem of the People, 206—gently reprimands the Lord-Mayor of *London*, 207—misrepresented by *Burnet*, 210—vindicated by *Fiddes*, 211—made Bishop of *Lincoln*, 212—congratulated by both the Universities, *ib.*—invited by the University of *Cambridge* to accept of their Chancellorship, 213—but modestly excuses himself, *ib.*—receives further Marks of the King's Esteem, *ib.*—vindicated from Dr. *Knigh's* Charge, *ib.*—grateful to his Patron, 214—highly esteemed by Dr. *Smith*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, 217—his Reception of *Erasmus*, *ib.*—greatly respected by Lord *Montjoy*, *ib.*—chiefest in the King's Favour, 225—ordered to treat with the Duke of *Longueville* on the Princess's Marriage, 266—finished the Marriage-articles to the Approbation of both Parties, 228—the Princess highly pleased with his Conduct, *ib.*—appointed to treat with the *French* Ambassadors, *ib.*—the *French* Ministers first introduced to him, 229—in high Favour with *Lewis*, King of *France*, *ib.*—a Letter from his Ministers to *Wolsey*, *ib.*—happily negotiates three Treaties between *Henry* and *Lewis*,

229, 230, 231—made Archbishop of *York*, 236—(a fine View of the Cathedral, *ib.*) his Majesty's Grant thereof to him, 237—the Pope favours him with a Bull of Absolution, 239—takes Possession of *York-place*, (now called *White-ball*) 241—rebuilds one Part of it and repairs the other, *ib.*—sets new Buildings on Foot at *Hampton-court*, in so elegant a Taste as to draw the Curious from all Parts to admire them, *ib.*—receives a Letter from *Lewis* the XIIth, 242—accompanies the Princess *Mary* to *Dover*, 244—writes to the Queen of *France*, 254—her remarkable Answer to him, *ib.*—informs the King of his Sister's Design to marry the Duke of *Suffolk*, 256—soften's the King's Anger against them, 257—advises the Queen and the Duke, 258—their Acknowledgments of his Friendship, *ib.*—takes his Seat, as Archbishop of *York*, in the House of Peers, 260—preserves the Privileges of *Tournay*, 261—recommends an *English* Student for Preference to the Chapter of *Tournay*, *ib.*—who is not only preferred, but the Chapter also express their high Respect for his Grace, 262—receives the Complaints of the Canons of *Tournay*, 263—their complaisant Letter to him, 264—is opposed in the Collection of the Revenues of the Bishoprick of *Tournay* by the Bishop Elect, *ib.*—Dr. *Sampson's* Advice to him on that Head, *ib.*—his Brief from the Pope confirming him in that Bishop-

Bishoprick objected to, 265
 —his Right maintained by *Sampson*, who gives an Account of the Proceedings to *Walsey*, *ib.*—rewards *Sampson*, *ib.*—from whom he receives grateful Returns, *ib.*—the Pope issues a Bull to deprive him of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, 266—gets it superceded, *ib.*—lays before the Council Reasons for declaring War with *France*, 282—to have 10,000 Ducats yearly out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, 283—(18,000 according to *Polydor Virgil*, *ib.*)—vindicated from *Polydor's* Reflection, 284—
 from *Rapin's* Invectives, 85—several Princes solicit the Cardinalate for him, 287—made Cardinal, 289—receives the Hat with great Pomp and Solemnity, 290—entertains *Henry* and his Queen with the Queens of *Scotland* and *France*, *ib.*—made Lord High Chancellor, 291—vindicated from *Rapin's* Reflections, *ib.*—had a Commission for holding the Seal during Life, 296—his Character by *Echard*, 298—by Lord *Herbert*, 300—vindicated from *Echard's* Reflections, 301—his Conduct wife and equitable, 302—gave Pleasure and Satisfaction to all, 303—his Moderation proved by his Cotemporaries, *ib.*—protects Dr. *Colet*, 304—receives an affectionate Letter from his Royal Master, 305—discovers *Ferdinand* of *Spain's* Drifts, and prevents *Henry* from being duped, 309—his History parallel to Cardinal *Ximenes's*, 311—applies his

large Revenues for the Advancement of Piety and Learning, 313—had great Things in View, *ib.*—his Design of having all the Manuscripts in the *Vatican* transcribed, *ib.*—his Master sensible of his Integrity and Zeal, 314—removed more through the Artifice of a single Woman, than the Credit of all his Enemies, *ib.*—reforms Abuses in the Courts of Judicature, 315—finds the *Exchequer* exhausted, *ib.*—discovers several large Sums due to his Master, *ib.* recovers sufficiently to make Money plenty, *ib.*—reforms publick Vices, 316—applauded by the King and People, *ib.*—erects a Court for more speedy Punishment of Crimes, *ib.*—*Court of Requests* instituted by his Means, *ib.*—*Goodwin's* and *Erasmus's* Accounts of him as to Matters ordained by him relating to Civil Government, *ib.*—made *Legate a Latere*, *ib.*—his Dispute with Archbishop *Warham*, about Precedency, 317—takes place of him as Cardinal, 319—is in his Zenith of Grandeur, *ib.*—his Speech to the King, 327—petitions the King in the Name of the Clergy, 330—takes the University of *Oxford* under his Protection, 332—other Transactions relating to that University, *ib.* & *sequenti*—procures the Garrison of *Tournay*, Redress, 337—cautions the Governor of *Tournay* against a Surprise from the *French*, 338—has the Arrears paid to the Garrison, *ib.*—the Go-

VERDOR

vernot a second Time; *ib.*—
receives an Account of the
good Condition of the Garri-
son, 339—advises the Ma-
gistrates of *Tournay* to come to
London, and assure the King
of their Obedience; *ib.*—Pope
sends him an Account of the
Emperor's Willingness to come
into Henry's Measures; 342—
distrusts the Emperor's Actions,
346—has Intelligence of *Maxi-
milian's* Treating privately with
France, 348—charges *Tunstall*,
then in the *Low Countries*, to
enquire into the Truth of it,
349—satisfied by *Tunstall* in
that Particular, *ib.*—his Con-
duct with regard to *Maximi-
lian* applauded, 353—appoint-
ed Collector by *Leo* the Xth,
for recovering the Tenth of the
Clergy, 354—is respectfully
complimented by the Doge of
Venice, 359—*Charles*, King
of *Spain*, grants him a Pension,
366—sends for the Mayor of
London to know the State of
the City, 378—gives Instruc-
tions relating to the Peace
thereof, 379—sends the Earls
of *Shrewsbury* and *Surry* with
a considerable Force to assist
the City, *ib.*—is attended by
the Lord Mayor, &c. 382—
attends the King in *Westmin-
ster-hall*, *ib.*—opens the Occa-
sion of the King's Sitting, *ib.*
—reprimands the Mayor, &c.
ib.—intercedes for the Rioters,
ib.—promotes *Arts* and *Scien-
ces*, together with *Trade* and
Commerce, *ib.*—attends the
King during the *Sweating*
Sickness, 385.
Writs, issued out for calling a
General Council at *Pisa*, 95.

Ximenes, Cardinal, by his Preach-
ing converts 3000 *Moslems*
(and burns all the Books of
the *Alcoran*) in one Day, 33
—passed with an Army into
Africa, 34—takes *Oran*, the
Keys whereof he sent to his
College at *Alcala*, 35—re-
turns to *Spain*, and King *Per-
dinand* goes four Leagues from
Seville to meet him, *ib.*—
erects at his own Charge four
publick Granaries, *ib.*—a
Fountain costs him a Million
of Gold, 36—is made Go-
vernour of *Castile*, *ib.*—his in-
trepid Answer to the disgusted
Grandees, *ib.*—refuses to ad-
mit *Charles* of *Austria's* Mi-
nister, Regent in *Spain*, 309—
to prevent Disturbances admits
him as Joint-Regent, which
Title he enjoyed but nominal-
ly, *ib.*—is courted by *Charles*
of *Austria*, *ib.*—*Charles* set
against him, *ib.*—uneasy at
the Invasion of *Navarre*, 310
—raises Forces and sends them
under the Command of *Per-
dinand de Villalva*, *ib.*—de-
feats the Enemy, and takes
their General Prisoner, 311—
quells other Disorders in *Spain*,
ib.—his History parallel to
Wolsey's, *ib.*—liberal to the
Poor, 312—founded and en-
dowed Monasteries and Col-
leges, *ib.*—causes an Edition
of the *Holy Scriptures* in *Latin*,
Greek, *Hebrew*, and *Chaldee*,
to be compiled, *ib.*—his joy-
ful Expressions when he saw it
finished, *ib.*—reproached for
commanding an Army in Per-
son, 314—his Master sensible
of

I N D E X.

of his Zeal and Integrity, *ib.*—punishes with Rigour such as had *embarked* the Publick Monies, *ib.*—the Council desert him, 367—they are ordered by the King to attend him, *ib.*—the King's Letter with Orders to meet him at *Mojados*, *ib.*—his Services forgotten by *Charles*, 368—his Death hastened according to some Writers by the King's Letter, *ib.*—did not receive the Letter according to others, *ib.*—expired in answering it, *ib.*—wore the Mitre of *Toledo* 22 Years, *ib.*—governed Spain, under *Ferdinand*, *Isabella*, *Jane*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, as many Years, *ib.*—a general View of his Life, *ib.*—his Person and Qualities, 369—why called an *Elephant*, *ib.*—observant of *Sahiss's Maxim*, *ib.*—Method of bestowing Benefices, *ib.*—his Counsels observed to this Day in Spain, 370—his Vir-

tues serve for Directions in every Station of Life, *ib.*—his Burying-place and Epitaph, *ib.*

Xenodeus, his Opinion of the Descent of the *Venetians*, 355.

Y

Yester, Lord, 199.

York, House of, 75, 295—*Henry Duke of*, 179.

York, See of, *Wolsey* succeeds in it, 236—Palace of, in *London*, rebuilt by him, 241.

York-place, 241.

York, Antiquities of, 241.

Young, *John*, Dr. of Laws, sent to make Demands of *Lewis*, 114—Master of the Rolls dies, 331—some Account of his Life, *ib.*

Z

Zeal of the Church, 111.

Zealots against Popery burn the Pope's Bulls, 332.





DIRECTIONS for Placing the P L A T E S.

- 1—The Head of the CARDINAL to be
the Frontispiece.
- 2—HENRY the VIIIth — facing Page 73
- 3—JULIUS the IId, Pope, — — 92
- 4—Cardinal BAYNBRIDGE, — — 169
- 5—LEWIS the XIIth, K. of *France*, — 178
- 6—A View of YORK-Cathedral, — 237
- 7—Dr. Fox, Bishop of *Winchester*, — 268
- 8—FERDINAND, King of *Spain*, — 306
- 9—The Emperor MAXIMILIAN, — 365



E R R A T A.

Page 40, Line 14, for *bent* read *borne* ; p. 112, l. 11, f. *Angustia*
r. *Angustia* ; p. 120, l. 30, f. *Courier*, r. *Courtier* ; p. 163, l. 4,
f. *Fear* was greater than their *Valour*, r. *Valour* was greater than
their *Fear* ; p. 222, l. ult. f. *Basortie*, r. *Basoche* ; p. 248, l. 15,
f. *Juncture*, r. *Junction* ; p. 263, l. 14, in the Note, f. *Britain*,
r. *Briton* ; p. 271, l. 8, f. *spenetick*, r. *splenetick* ; p. 332, l. 13,
f. a *Gentleman*, r. Dr. *Ayliffe*.

